



\$1.25

THE MEDIA MAGAZINE

DECEMBER 1977

MORE

**'Washington Post':
Busting The Guild**

**Jules Witcover
On James Naughton**

Tuning In Trouble At Arbitron

Black Ink Vs. White Power

BANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA



AGAINST DOWD, NO SAMPLE COPY
MARCIA GAINES SER DEPT *****
XEROX UNIT MICROFILMS
300 N ZEEB RD
ANN ARBOR MI 48106



Mobil Showcase presents

© 1997 Mobil Corporation



WHEN **HAVOC** STRUCK

Events that shocked the world, and what we learned from them. Host: Glenn Ford

12-week TV series – Wednesdays, starting January 11
See your local TV listings for time and channel

Mobil

Behind the HEADLINES



Timely New Titles from GREENWOOD PRESS

☐ HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN AGING PROGRAMS

Edited by Lorin A. Baumhover and Joan Dechow Jones.

(1977). xiii, 188 pages.

LC 76-28641. ISBN 0-8371-9287-0.

BAA/ \$17.50

A collection of articles written by professionals from both academia and various social service agencies, the *Handbook* bridges the gap between highly technical publications and simplified texts geared to the novice.

☐ DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY

by Henry Warner Bowden.

Edwin S. Gaustad, Advisory Editor.

(1977). xiii, 575 pages.

LC 76-5258. ISBN 0-8371-8906-3.

BAR/ \$29.95

"There is a wide range of coverage: we find Cardinal Cushing, Madame Blavatzky, and Malcolm X; religious leaders, philosophers, reformers, dreamers, and charlatans. . . . Each carefully researched entry provides essential biographical information. . . ."

—*Library Journal*

☐ THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: A Bibliographic Study

Compiled by the Equal Rights Amendment Project, Anita Miller, director, Hazel Greenberg, editor and compiler.

(1976). xxvii, 367 pages.

LC 76-24999. ISBN 0-8371-9058-4.

ERA/ \$19.95

"Rarely does a reference work manage to be both timely and comprehensive, but this bibliography meets the two criteria surprisingly well. . . . Organized by source, the volume treats each category chronologically and thus is itself a historical statement about the ebb and flow of equal rights activity."

—*Choice*

☐ LABOR UNIONS

Edited by Gary M. Fink. (The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions, Vol. 1). (1977). xiii, 520 pages.

LC 76-8734. ISBN 0-8371-8938-1.

FLU/ \$27.50

"Fink's historical encyclopedia is original, useful, and altogether a commendable reference work. . . . The essays vary in length and style, each covering the subject with adequate depth and containing enough analysis to make for interesting reading."

—*Library Journal*

☐ ANTI-APARTHEID: Transnational Conflict and Western Policy in the Liberation of South Africa

by George W. Shepherd, Jr. (Studies in Human Rights, No. 3).

(1977). xii, 246 pages.

LC 77-71868. ISBN 0-8371-9537-3.

SHA/ \$15.95

"This book effectively compares the failure of the American and British governments to pursue policies that will bring about the end of apartheid to the vigorous antiapartheid activities of nongovernmental organizations in these countries."

—*Library Journal*

☐ BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF THE UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE BRANCH, 1774-1977

Edited by Robert Sobel. Second edition, revised.

(1977). x, 503 pages.

LC 77-84. ISBN 0-8371-9527-6.

SBU/ \$29.95

From a review of the first edition:

"As a reference tool it is thorough, well designed and well prepared, highly useful, and of great value to the small library with limited resources. It is highly recommended."

—*American Reference Books Annual*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Master Charge _____ TOTAL \$ _____
☐ BankAmericard _____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____

Check the titles you want above. Enclose check or money order, or indicate credit card—we pay postage and handling. Prices may change without notice.

Now available from GREENWOOD PRESS, INC. • 51 Riverside Avenue, Westport, CT 06880

WHO'S REALLY WHO IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION

Each month THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY tells its readers about the new appointments, the resignations, the subtle changes in who is really who in the Carter Administration.

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY is about what's really happening—how the government really works, who really has the power, and why. There are new winners and losers every month. We'll tell you who they are and how they got there.

Send us \$9, and we'll not only give you a year's

subscription for half the regular price of \$18 but we'll bring you up to date with a free bonus of all the Who's Who published so far.

In addition to Who's Who you'll be reading each month the kind of articles and features that led *The New York Times* to call THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY "indispensable," *Time* to say that it is "must reading" and *The Washington Post* to say "it does its specialty—politics and government—better than any other magazine around." Subscribe today.

**The
Washington
Monthly**

1028 Connecticut Avenue NW
Washington D.C. 20036

Please send me "Who's Who in the Carter Administration" and enter my subscription for 1 year at \$9—half the regular price.

☐ payment enclosed ☐ bill me

name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

MO72

THE MEDIA MAGAZINE More

DECEMBER 1977

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 12



p. 6



p. 12



p. 19



p. 33



p. 39

p. 44

BANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The press is under attack in South Africa. Always a thorn in the side of the government, the press—particularly English-language and black newspapers—was becoming increasingly critical of *apartheid* and minority rule. On October 19—"Black Wednesday," as it was dubbed by one South African newspaper—the government launched its most recent and most repressive counterattack. One prominent black editor was imprisoned, a white editor was banned, and two newspapers were closed down. MORE looks at this confrontation through the eyes of three South African journalists, and then examines U.S. media coverage of one of the hottest—and hardest—stories.

12 Black Ink Vs. White Power In South Africa

By Patrick Laurence

How is South African journalism holding up under government pressure? In this cabled report from Johannesburg, *Rand Daily Mail* reporter Patrick Laurence describes how a beleaguered press conducts itself to avoid government reprisals.

14 Truth Victim Of Press Laws

By Martin Schneider

The white, English-language press, with its segregated dining rooms and special editions for Africans, is too moderate in the eyes of black nationalists. But editorials calling for

"shared power" and a commitment to truth make it anathema to the government.

20 Newsroom Apartheid

By Obed Kunene

After more than 20 years working for whites, one of South Africa's two black newspaper editors—and the only one not in prison—talks about what it has been like.

26 Media Myopia

By Daniel Schechter

The American press is giving the South Africa story more and more attention as the conflict heats up. Daniel Schechter looks at some aspects of the story the press is overlooking.

Publisher

James B. Adler

Editor

Robert Friedman

Senior Editor

Robert Karl Manoff

Associate Editors

J. Anthony Lukas

Richard Pollak

David M. Rubin

Assistant Editor

Steve Robinson

Assistant to the Editor

Kathleen Hughes

Art Director

Paul Richer

Contributing Photographer

Libby Bianchi

Contributing Editors

David Halberstam

Judith Adler Hennessee

Bob Kuttner

Marlene Adler Marks

James Monaco

Philip Noble

Ron Rosenbaum

Peter Schrag

Chris Welles

Editorial Assistants

Barbara Demick

Sheryl Fragin

Alan Grossman

John Keller

Jeff Nicholas

Janet Skidmore

Joyce Wells

Associate Publisher

Bernard Jourdan

Business Manager

Ann B. Epstein

Administrative Assistant

Donna Thurman

MORE is published monthly by MORE Magazine Inc., 40 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. James B. Adler, chairman and president. Subscription rates: 1 year \$12.00; 2 years \$21.00; 3 years \$30.00 in the U.S., its possessions, and Canada; all other foreign add \$2.50 per year. Single copies \$1.25. All subscription correspondence and change of address information: MORE, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735. All editorial, advertising and other correspondence: MORE, 40 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019. Telephone (212) 757-2040.

Copyright © 1977 MORE Magazine Inc. Nothing in this publication may be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without specific written permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. MORE is a registered trademark. Postmaster: Please send form 3576 to MORE, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, New York 11735. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE paid at NEW YORK, N.Y. and at additional mailing offices.

Microfilm of MORE, 1971 to present, are available through University Microfilms Company, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Tel. (313) 761-4700.

32 Tuning In Trouble At Arbitron

By David M. Rubin

Is radio's system of audience measurement collapsing? Challenges to methodology, diary thefts, and phony contests have plagued Arbitron, the Nielsen of radio.

36 'Washington Post': The Unions Are Running Scared

By John Hanrahan and Chip Berlet

Two years ago, most Guild members at *The Washington Post* crossed the picket lines of three striking craft unions.

Now, the Guild has been without a contract for 20 months and is bargaining from a position of weakness. It all fits into management's attempt to break the unions.

Departments

4 Letters

6 Hellbox

Furthermore:

44 Media

Straw Man

By Lewis Cole

The media made SDS leader Mark Rudd into a symbol of

revolt in the 1960s. Now that he has surfaced after seven years underground, the media has turned him into a symbol of compromise in the 1970s.

Rosebud:

48 Losers Were His Beat

By Jules Witcover

Rosebuds are back, and the first bouquet goes to former *New York Times* man James Naughton for his impeccable writing of instant history.

Cover:

Illustration by Paul Richer

LETTERS

BELATED WHIMPERING?

I read Mark Hosenball's article [October 1977] with great interest, and it bothered me quite a bit. Although Hosenball got his facts right, there were a few things he neglected to include.

In his rather passive, after-the-fact way, Hosenball is seeking to identify himself with the other journalists harassed by the British government. It comes as a surprise, considering that Hosenball refused to publicly support the Agee-Hosenball Defense Committee. Three of the committee's strongest backers were Crispin Aubrey, John Berry, and Duncan Campbell, the men arrested under the Official Secrets Act.

I became involved with the committee during a course of study in London last spring. Hosenball kept a safe distance from the committee; I never saw him at any committee rally or benefit.

It seemed inevitable that the deportations of Agee and Hosenball would be carried out after the hearings in January. Agee went on tour with the "circus" and tried to run a public campaign. Hosenball shuffled in and out of offices pleading his cause. In attempting to "differentiate" himself from Agee, Hosenball weakened his own defense.

The harassment of journalists will continue by whatever means the British government (or any government for that matter) can devise. I strongly disagree with Hosenball's assertion that the deportations and arrests will encourage other investigative journalists to report on politically sensitive issues; continued harassment only leads to further self-censorship.

Nora Frenkiel
New York City

Mark Hosenball replies: Mr. Agee is a politician, not a journalist. I did not particularly agree with his politics, nor did many of my colleagues in Fleet Street, who recognized a difference in the cases. The affair, and my reaction to it, has not only sobered people on the left of the political spectrum, but also those of a more moderate political hue.

PHRASE TURNED

I think I appreciate a neatly turned phrase as well as anyone, so I was quite taken by a head on page 22 of your September issue: "Dying On The Living Page." Until I found out that you were referring to the *Inquirer*. Although Rhonda Orin wrote that we "often" put obits on the Living page, no one here can recall that ever happening.

Gene Foreman
Managing Editor
The Philadelphia Inquirer

MORE replies: Obituaries in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* frequently appear in the section which is headed by the Living page. A reference listing the page number of the obits is found on the Living page in these instances. However, we were incorrect in reporting that the obits actually appear on the Living page.

LENIN VS. LANCE

May I suggest that in their next advertisement in *MORE*, Americans for a Free Press use someone slightly more extant than Lenin, whose views have had no very visible impact on American journalism?

One possibility—representative of a major danger to our free press—is the trustee for Bert Lance who said, "As of 5 p.m. Wednesday, it is nobody's damn business whether he has repaid his loans or not."

Edgar Crane
Houston, Texas

'TIMES' DISCRIMINATION

The feelings of invisibility shared by many Black, Hispanic, Asian-American and other "minority" employees of *The New York Times* were certainly reinforced by *MORE*'s recent article, "Women's Suit Nears Showdown At The 'Times'" [October 1977], which failed entirely (except in one parenthetical reference to "minorities" as being included in the paper's "affirmative action program") to address the fact that racism is still very much a part of the newspaper business. However one interprets the facts presented in the article about women at the *Times*, the employment picture for Black and Third World employees (or would-be employees) is much, much bleaker. In fact, for non-white women, few, if any, tangible gains have been made on the hiring or promotional front, despite the existence of the "women's suit."

The theme of the *MORE* story, emphasized by the subtitle, "Class Action Prods Management To Improve Hiring Policies," presents an interesting example of the disparity of treatment accorded to white women as opposed to "minorities." Shortly before Ms. Boylan and her colleagues sued the *Times*, a similar Title VII lawsuit was filed by four non-white *Times* employees charging that the paper's policies discriminated against minority applicants, employees, and former employees in the areas of hiring, promotion, salaries, training, and other employment conditions and benefits. This case (*Rosario, et al. v. New York Times*) was accorded class-action status in 1975, but that determination did not throw the *Times* into a "positive tizzy" over its treatment of Black and Third World people seeking entry into, or advancement at, the nation's most famous newspaper. (The four who brought the case are Banilda Rosario, Wanda Jones,

Donald Barker, and Morgan Jin.)

To those of us who work for the *Times* and those, like myself, who have been active in internal lobbying for an end to racist policies, the "gains" made since these lawsuits began indicate that "minorities" have longer and farther to go before the paper is really an "equal opportunity employer," regardless of some token improvements.

It appears, for example, that the *Times* determined, faced with two groups of angry, disheartened people protected by the Civil Rights Act, that the lesser of two "evils" was the advancement of white women into more visible, effective, and better paying jobs. Such determinations, of course, are the result of a powerful heritage of racism. The *Times*'s belated selection of white women for these positions rather than "minorities" was obviously less disrupting to the usual order of things for the white owners of the paper; it should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the employment practices in this industry are racist.

According to annual reports filed by the *Times* with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "minorities" accounted for only 41 jobs out of 304 classified as "officials and managers" in 1976. These designations, however, are somewhat misleading insofar as they include supervisory positions at the lowest end of the pay scale as well as the highest-ranking decision makers.

When one looks at the jobs within the jurisdiction of the Newspaper Guild of New York, the largest union at the paper, 319 positions rank at the top of the contract pay scale. Of that total, 300 are held by whites; almost twice as many "non-minority women" have made it to this rank as have "minorities." Minorities are rarely found in the paper's

hierarchy of union-exempt positions and corporate officers. It is only when one works down to the bottom of the contract pay scale that the minority presence is more than mere window dressing. Thus, minorities constitute about 40 percent of the employees in the four lowest Newspaper Guild contract classifications (restaurant workers, building maintenance workers, clerical staff, messengers, etc.). Some departments of the *Times* remain completely white, others have yet to see a non-white "official" or "manager."

In addition to the Newspaper Guild, 15 other unions represent a work force of over 2000 employees at the paper's New York headquarters. Few minority faces are visible in these groups of workers.

The MORE article devotes substantial attention to the newsroom's "progress in recent months." Again, however, a summary of the hiring, promotional and transfer activity in the news and Sunday Departments during the first six months of 1977, shows that progress is all in the eye of the beholder.

Out of 32 people hired by the paper, only one—an Oriental woman—was not white, although 15 were white women. Thirty-seven white men were promoted or transferred, compared to nine white women, three Blacks, and one Hispanic (all men). Paul Dulaney and Thomas Johnson, two of the three Blacks promoted, became, respectively, "Assistant Editor—National" and "Assistant to the Metropolitan Editor." Dulaney's promotion, however, was the first time in the paper's history that a Black person has held an assistant editor's job, and most believe that this title does not mean real decision-making power for Dulaney. Johnson is only one of several "assistants to," and the only Black in that position.

Thus, only two Blacks (and no other minorities) hold this kind of editorial position, but

ten of the 24 white women hired or promoted from January to June went into editorial slots, and two others became bureau chiefs. All 32 bureau chiefs are white.

Perhaps the most telling statistic of all about the intent and impact of employment policies at *The New York Times* is the fact that between 1973 and 1976 the total number of minorities at the paper actually declined by 41.

In short, "minorities" have not been able to cross the barriers of discrimination at the *Times* to rise to the kind of positions cited by MORE as a testament to the "women's suit." This fact has significance in a number of areas, not the



least of which is the amount of attention the rest of the media will pay to struggles which involve racism. When the *Rosario* case was filed, the only newspaper to take note in print of that fact was the *Amsterdam News*; when the *Boylan* case was filed, however, even the *Times* was willing to give it a few lines. An inquiry was made to Assistant Managing Editor Peter Millones about this disparity of coverage. Millones's reply: "It must have been an oversight."

The management of the *Times* is, indeed, male. But it is also white. It is white people who make the paper's key decisions, from what stories are "fit to print" to which individuals are fit to write or

edit those stories or to sell the newsprint which houses them. Until that situation changes dramatically, magazines such as MORE do a disservice to their readers by ignoring that reality. They also perpetuate the creation of issues which may divide groups who should otherwise be allies in attacking their common enemy of discrimination in any form.

I look around me at individuals who have remained for years in the lower-level jobs, despite their potential, qualifications and interest in moving ahead, who have become pessimistic and frustrated, who have even stopped making formal applications for job openings because it hurts

articles in your issue that decry sexism at the *Times* were written by men. Thirty million years of human evolution in hunting societies have made men biologically more aggressive and careerist than women and more likely to depend on job success for their very sexual identities. Judges, corporate lawyers, and guilt-ridden male reporters tend to capitulate with a whimper to false feminist charges of injustice because 30 million years of evolution have taught men not to direct their aggressions against women, for the very survival of the race.

If female executive talent were really being excluded, in large degree, from established journalism, we would find women emerging in large numbers in the leadership and creation of anti-establishment publications like MORE. But MORE is just as dominated by men as the *Times*. This is not because you discriminate against women. It is because most women discriminate against financial and career success and reject what the feminists deride as the careerist "rat race." People who regard career competition—which reaches its pinnacle at places like the *Times*—as a "rat race" will probably lose it.

Men win because they fight harder and don't have the "discrimination" cop-out or the motherhood option. Thus, they demand high salaries and move back and forth across the country, if necessary, to get them, rather than meekly accept what they are given, until the day of deliverance by male lawyers in the government, who make up with state coercion for the deficit of female aggressiveness. Eileen Shanahan got paid less than Sy Hersh not because she writes less well (she writes better) or because she is less intelligent (she is smarter and more cultivated), but because she is incomparably less willing to fight to win.

George Gilder
Tyringham, Mass.

Conrad West
President, Afro-American
Employees Association of The
Times

SEXISM MAKES SENSE?

Men dominate *The New York Times*—like virtually every hierarchical institution in every human society—for the same reason that they dominate MORE from one end of the masthead to the other, and for the same reason that all the

HELLBOX

EDITED BY STEVE ROBINSON

CAN CONGRESS SURVIVE TELEVISED SESSIONS?

Proposal For House Control Of Cameras Meets With Network Opposition

"We are now about to change the House from a forum to a theater," argued one camera-shy Congressman. But, despite some opposition, the House of Representatives passed a resolution on October 27 directing that a TV and radio broadcasting system be installed in the House chambers. The system would provide increased news coverage, as well as an historical record of House proceedings.

Congress agreed to the plan only on the unspoken understanding that the cameras and microphones would be kept under the control of the House itself. Broadcasters say the arrangement is tantamount to government tampering with the news. "We don't think it is right, or proper, if you will, for the House of Representatives to cover itself," commented CBS News Vice President Sanford Socolow.

The broadcasting of Congressional proceedings isn't exactly a new idea. It was first proposed by Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.) in 1944. Though Congress has never considered depriving print reporters of pencils and notebooks in the House chambers, it has traditionally deprived broadcast reporters of the tools of their trade—cameras and tape recorders. If a TV or radio newsman wants an "actuality" for a report on Congress, he must collar an elected official, drag him

Wide World



Tip O'Neill: How will he stack up against Charlie's Angels?

into an elevator, take him to the third-floor radio-TV gallery press room, and shoot wooden footage in a studio setting.

It took 12 years from the time the House first seriously debated televising Congress (in 1965, during hearings held by the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress) until it approved it. Congressmen have long felt that TV journalists should be banned because of alleged news bias, sensationalism, and commercialization. In short, legislators are afraid of what their constituents would think if they had

an opportunity to eavesdrop on them at their place of work.

"If somebody were making a very important speech, and the camera panned to some member who was asleep, it would give a hell of a bad impression," reasoned Lloyd Meeds (D.-Wash.).

During the last Congress, an ad hoc House Rules Subcommittee recommended that cameras be installed, that they be unrestricted in movement, and that they be operated by a network pool. The proposal was unceremoniously buried.

The Select Committee on

Congressional Operations subsequently proposed a system with fixed cameras manned by employees of the House itself, which was more in tune with the personal preferences of House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D.-Mass.). "Having cameras pan the chamber and the galleries for color and reaction shots would not only interrupt the continuous coverage of official proceedings, but would distract viewers from the official business of the House," concluded Select Committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D.-Tex.).

Speaker O'Neill subsequently authorized a 90-day test using closed-circuit, black-and-white cameras borrowed from the Capitol Police, which uses them to guard against muggings in the basement hallways beneath the Capitol building.

The test ended September 15. On October 13, staff members of the Select Committee played a tape of one session for the Rules Committee. "The members hooted," one staff aide recalls. "It was bad."

Staffers blamed the fiasco on poor equipment and the apparent self-consciousness of many House members.

Nonetheless, a week later, the Rules Committee approved a modified version of the Select Committee proposal and sent it to the House. The measure passed by a 342-44 vote. The resolution leaves the Speaker with a wide range of options for how the system will be used. Only the installation of the necessary equipment was specifically authorized, and no firm date for that was set.

O'Neill, however, has made no secret of his distaste for a system operated by a network pool. "I think we ought to control the House ourselves," he says. "Plus, I've talked to the very highest officials at the networks, and they told me that I'd be nuts to turn the operation of the system over to the networks. And I agree with them."

If O'Neill really did get such feedback from network offi-

cials, it wasn't from the news divisions. CBS News President Richard Salant says, "I don't believe anyone at CBS said that. Whoever it is, I wouldn't want to work for them." Les Crystal, president of NBC News, agrees. "Our position has always been that coverage of the House is a job for journalists. And my management supports my view." A spokesman for ABC's Roone Arledge claims he knows of no one who has spoken with O'Neill on the subject.

The Senate, meanwhile, is also considering opening its doors to TV—but not right away. Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) has asked the Rules Committee to consider televising the debate on the proposed Panama Canal Treaty, expected this winter. Byrd has also said he favors televising the Senate on a routine basis, but wants to see specific proposals on how it would be carried out before making up his mind. Byrd's fellow Senators seem even less inclined than their House counterparts to put their acts on TV.

—IRWIN ARIEFF

HENRY'S REVENGE

Kissinger Warns Of Suit Over 'Penthouse' Article

Penthouse magazine may soon discover just where former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger draws the line. Through his attorney—and predecessor at the State Department—William P. Rogers, Kissinger has notified *Penthouse* that he is considering taking legal action in response to an article in the December issue of the magazine which links him to an assassination plot against the Prime Minister of Jamaica.

In a telegram dated November 9, Rogers informed *Penthouse* that the article, titled "Murder As Usual," was "full of lies," and warned, "Be advised we are examining all

means of legal redress that may be open to him [Kissinger]."

The article, written by *Newsday* reporters Ernest Volkman and John Cummings, charges that in 1975 the Central Intelligence Agency carried out a plan to destabilize the government of Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley. The reporters claim that the CIA was "directly involved" in the attempts on Manley's life, and that Kissinger "led" the "secret war."

According to the *Penthouse* article, Kissinger was dismayed at the leftward turn of Manley's government and at his overtures to Fidel Castro. "Kissinger told Ford," Volkman and Cummings wrote, "the only solution was to get rid of Manley's government and restore the pre-Manley government, which was more understanding of American interests."

The *Newsday* reporters said they based their article on interviews with American intelligence officials.

On November 10, the day after the December issue of *Penthouse* went on sale, Volkman, a 13-year veteran at *Newsday*, was himself the victim of an apparent destabilization plan. A former national correspondent and national editor for the Long Island newspaper, and the recipient of several in-house reporting awards, Volkman suddenly found himself transferred to the aerospace beat in Suffolk County.

David Laventhol, *Newsday's* editor, says Volkman and



Did *Newsday* reporter Ernest Volkman step on prominent toes?

Cummings violated the paper's policy requiring advance approval for articles written for other publications. He denies that Volkman's transfer is a punishment, but says, "We thought it would be better for him to work with closer supervision."

Cummings had already rubbed his superiors the wrong way before the *Penthouse* article appeared. While working as half of a two-man investigative team under Suffolk Editor Robert Greene, Cummings submitted a memo to his boss proposing that he be allowed to work on a CIA story for *Newsday*, about which he had "a sniff."

Greene now says he has no recollection of any such memo. But Cummings insists that Greene refused to read it. Greene says Cummings wanted to do more national stories even though he was assigned to "one of the most racket-ridden counties in New York."

Shortly after his dispute with Greene, Cummings was offered a choice of reassignments—the Smithtown, Long Island, beat or nightside rewrite in Queens. Faced with bad or worse, Cummings chose Queens. "The people at *Newsday* were born 100 years too late; they would've made great plantation owners," says Cummings.

Volkman says he has no evidence that any outside pressure was brought to bear on *Newsday* as a result of the *Penthouse* article. "But," he adds, "it is strange that they're making such a big deal of this."

The day after the article appeared, a notice was posted in the *Newsday* newsroom stating that reporters must get advance, written approval for any freelance work they do. According to Laventhol, the memo merely "restated" existing policy.

Edward Hershey, vice president of *Newsday's* pressmen's union, which has filed a grievance on Volkman's behalf, claims that the freelance policy is new. "The proof is in the

pudding," he says. "We have a list of 20 past and present reporters and editors who have published without Laventhol's permission."

Meanwhile, Volkman and Cummings have had additional problems with television talk shows. A scheduled interview on ABC's *Good Morning, America* was abruptly cancelled the night before, and an interview for WPIX-TV was taped but never aired.

—SHERYL FRAGIN

BASEBALL BASHFUL?

Woman Reporter Barred From Locker Rooms



Sports Illustrated's Melissa Ludtke: Commissioner Kuhn ordered her out of the showers.

The grass may be plastic, the players may be dressed in doubleknits, and someday there may be a World Series played entirely in Canada. But one tradition that Major League Baseball seems determined to hold on to is the rule barring women from the locker room.

The latest assault on baseball sexism comes from another sports institution—*Sports Illustrated*. The magazine and one of its reporters, Melissa Ludtke, intend to fight Commissioner of Baseball Bowie Kuhn—in court, if necessary—to insure that what happened to Ludtke at this year's World Series doesn't happen to her, or any other woman sports-writer, ever again.

HELLBOX

After getting permission from representatives of the Yankees and the Dodgers, Ludtke—who was one of two writers and two researchers covering the Series for *SI*—assumed she would be allowed access to the locker rooms for post-game interviews. But, at the start of the fifth inning of the first game at Yankee Stadium, Ludtke was summoned from her seat in the auxiliary press box, and informed by one of Kuhn's representatives that she would not be allowed entry.

Sports writers traditionally have written some of their best copy from locker-room interviews. "Sometimes things happen, like fights or pranks where you can get some good quotes," says Laurie Mifflin, who covers hockey for the New York *Daily News* and who has been granted access to the Rangers locker room. "Sometimes a guy's all alone, hanging his head, and you can get an interesting angle."

Peter Carry, senior editor at *Sports Illustrated*, says that Major League Baseball, by keeping a female writer out of the locker room, is preventing her from doing her job. Ludtke was forced to stay in the hall and wait until players could be brought out to her. She had to wait an hour and 45 minutes to get to speak with Reggie Jackson. "Many times the players are annoyed at having to repeat themselves just for you," she says.

Some baseball teams have voted to allow women reporters into the locker room. But the World Series is run by Commissioner Kuhn, and his word is law. "Billy Martin [Yankee manager] didn't care if I went in," says Ludtke. "I talked with Tommy John [Dodger pitcher and player representative], and he said the team had voted in my favor."

Why was Kuhn so uptight? "Privacy should be permitted

for undressed players," says Bob Wirz, MLB's director of information. "There have been instances in other sports where players' wives and children have been subjected to ridicule because women were permitted in the locker rooms." Wirz couldn't produce any specifics.

Stephanie Salter of the *San Francisco Examiner*, who was barred from the locker rooms of the Oakland Athletics and the San Francisco Giants this year, scoffs at Wirz's statement. "It's a threat to their masculinity," she says. "They feel locker rooms are sacred, like a tree house that says 'boys only.' Players know two kinds of women—those they're married to, and those they screw around with on the road. There's no room for another kind of woman."

Sports Illustrated's Carry agrees. "Wirz says there's a moral argument. If public thinking is that Melissa is going into the locker room to inspect Reggie Jackson's genitalia, it's the public's problem."

SI is prepared to take the case to court, according to the magazine's lawyers. If it does, Major League Baseball will defend its honor. "I'm not a civil rights lawyer," says MLB attorney Alexander Hadden, "but I don't think any of the statutes involving equal rights for women apply here. The issue is giving the media access to the players. If they all run off to get dressed in the shower, they won't be accessible to anyone."

Women sports writers think that notion is absurd. "All it takes if a player is uncomfortable is a towel," says Robin Herman of *The New York Times*.

"They're just using it as an excuse to keep women away from sports reporting," says Janice Kaplan of *Womensports*.

Dodger manager Tom Lasorda has his own theory. "I think Melissa is terrific; she's done a great job," he says. "But a lot of guys on our club feel uncomfortable naked in front of their wives."

CHECK IT OUT

BEST BITES: *New York* magazine shelves plan to give away *The Ten Best Years of New York* as come-on to new subscribers. Collection of greatest bits from past issues killed when too many of **Clay Felker's** faithful refuse to allow their articles to be used. Writers who said no include **Richard Reeves**, **Ken Auletta**, **Gloria Steinem**. Says Reeves, "Since all of the people that were asked are no longer with the magazine, it would really have amounted to consumer fraud."

Charles Denson



Richard Reeves: Won't give *New York* his best.

WIRELESS: Wire Service Guild announces contest to replace term "wire service" as UPI and AP abandon AT&T lines for RCA satellite. Switch will save news services \$10 million annually; top prize in contest is five bucks.

DALY NEWS: **Joel Daly**, anchorman at WLS-TV, Chicago, gets into hot water with \$1,000 contribution to State Senate hopeful **Alex Seith**. Daly, who also does nightly commentary, insists, "I feel I can effectively separate my professional life from my social life. (Seith, a Democrat, is close friend.)" WLS spokesman says, "Because of the possible conflict of interest, we have asked Daly to withdraw from the campaign." Daly says he won't.

KOREA'S FOES: **Richard Nixon** wasn't the only one with an enemies list. In its October 11 issue, the *Boston Phoenix* printed what it claimed was the Korean government's "enemies list." The following journalists were included: **Henry Bradsher**, *The Washington Star*; **Fox Butterfield**, *The New York Times*; **John Gibbon**, former stringer for *The Philadelphia Bulletin*; **Richard Halloran**, *The New York Times*; **Samuel Jameson**, the *Los Angeles Times*; **Bernard Krisher**, *Newsweek*; **Don Oberdorfer**, *The Washington Post*; **Elizabeth Pond**, the *Christian Science Monitor*; **Bernard Wideman**, former stringer for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

BUY GEORGE: *New Times* Publisher **George Hirsch** says deal to sell magazine to MCA will be completed by end of year. Hirsch says he will retain total control of *New Times* and adds, "I have no illusions about corporate ownership. But they have observed this magazine long enough to know that we step on some toes." Hirsch, who intends to build a magazine division at MCA, says, "My eyes are open for acquisitions, and I'm not afraid to start a new magazine, either." First off the starting block may be a runners' magazine to compete with *Runner's World*. Hirsch, a marathoner, helped put together program for New York City Marathon.

KIHSS OFF: **Peter Kihss**, 25-year *Times* veteran, stages brief walkout, October 26, complaining about shoddy copy editing. Says, "There's been an awful lot of inaccuracies under my name in the last year. The *Times* is the most over-edited paper in the country."



SEND MORE

Please enter my subscription immediately.

- ☐ \$12 for 1 year (12 issues)
- ☐ \$21 for 2 years (24 issues)
- ☐ \$30 for 3 years (36 issues)
- ☐ New ☐ Renewal (attach label)
- ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Add \$2.00 per year for postage outside U.S. and Canada. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery of first issue.



SEND MORE

Please enter my subscription immediately.

- ☐ \$12 for 1 year (12 issues)
- ☐ \$21 for 2 years (24 issues)
- ☐ \$30 for 3 years (36 issues)
- ☐ New ☐ Renewal (attach label)
- ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Add \$2.00 per year for postage outside U.S. and Canada. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery of first issue.

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 55919
New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by

THE NEW YORKER
More

P.O. Box 955
Farmingdale, N. Y. 11737



FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 55919
New York, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by

THE NEW YORKER
More

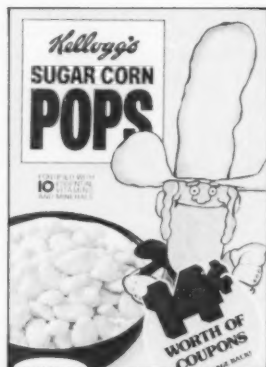
P.O. Box 955
Farmingdale, N. Y. 11737



BLACK NETWORK BLUES: Management of National Black Network says National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians is trying to destroy NBN. NBN VP Syd Small claims NABET's Arthur Kent threatened to spend upwards of \$1 million to destroy network if NABET's contract demands weren't met. Union is representing 16 NBN employees who have been striking since October 11 for improved job security, pay parity with bigger networks. Kent says, "I don't have a million dollars—I don't have a half-million dollars. And I wouldn't want to destroy them because I'd lose 18 jobs."

WOLVERINES FOIL WOLF: Bob Wolf, *Milwaukee Journal* "Sports on the Air" columnist, does hasty rewrite after October 15 Michigan-Wisconsin game. Column in early edition was headed: "UW Is Hurt By TV Rule." Piece criticized television blackout of Wisconsin game because of NCAA rules. Late edition was changed to "UW Saved By TV Rule," after Michigan whipped Badgers 56-0.

SWEET TALK: FTC preparing to act on two petitions from Action for Children's Television and Center for Science in the Public Interest urging ban on ads for sugared products directed at kids. Teri Freundlich, of FTC's Bureau of Consumer Protection, says, "The FTC has been working on this subject for 63 years, but it has not been prioritized until now." Cereal companies preparing to mount heavy opposition. Rosalind Fronta, manager of advertising for children at Kellogg's (Frosted Flakes and Sugar Smacks), says "We feel that because children are consumers of our products, they should have an opportunity to learn about our products. We advertise to people who eat cereal, not just people who buy it."



NEEDIEST CASE: RCA scholarship winners include daughter of NBC messenger, daughter of NBC videotape engineer, daughter of NBC facilities manager, and son of Herbert Schlosser, NBC president and chief executive officer.

WHAT WE REALLY MEANT WAS: Most newspapers don't see anything funny about having to admit their mistakes. Consider this embarrassing correction from the *San Antonio News*, reprinted in an October 20 front-page story on newspaper corrections in *The Wall Street Journal*: "He was not a former Air Force pilot, as reported, but had been in the Air Force pilot training program in the past.... He wasn't flying an aircraft owned by Beck Concrete Co. He was in a plane owned by Crow Aviation Co.... He was not making a mechanical check of the plane, and was not trying to land. He was making a low-level pass. He was not trying to lower the landing gear. He had been flying in a two-plane formation with Harry Perez, not Joe Perez, and Perez did not circle the area until help arrived. Perez was already on the ground when the crash happened.... The victim was not trapped between the instrument panel and the engine, but between the seat and the instrument panel."

NAMES WITHHELD

'Post' Won't Say Who Died In D.C. Gay Fire

Fire stories are staples of most metropolitan dailies, and, when nine people die in a blaze, it's generally front-page news. City editors tend to give fatal fires even bigger play when the victims turn out to be more prominent than the average man in the street. But a recent fire in Washington, D.C.—one of the worst in the city's history—was handled rather unusually by *The Washington Post*.

On Monday, October 24, the Cinema Follies, a theater catering to homosexuals, was gutted by fire. Eight patrons died that night, and a ninth died two weeks later.

On Tuesday morning, stories about the tragedy appeared in both the *Post* and *The Washington Star*. The names of the victims were not published because the police did not release them. The police blamed the delay on difficulties in notifying next of kin and on the fact that some of the dead had been carrying false identification.

By Wednesday, five of the victims were identified in both papers. The *Star* continued to follow the story, publishing additional names and profiles of the dead.

But the *Post* played the story differently. Profiles of the victims were withheld.

Natchayan/The Washington Post



Firemen carry body from the burned-out Cinema Follies.

times appeared with one significant omission—no names were mentioned.

Several of the victims of the Cinema Follies fire were prestigious members of the Washington community, including a Congressional legislative assistant, an economist for the International Monetary Fund, an Army major stationed at Fort Mead, and a minister.

Post Metro Editor Leonard Downie admits that, "a great deal of discussion by editors" took place before the final agreement not to print the victims' identities. The five names appeared in Wednesday's paper only because "the night editor inserted them," Downie says. "We didn't have a chance to decide on the issue until the following day."

At the *Star*, Managing Editor Sidney Epstein admits to some soul-searching, but concludes, "I thought we handled it right. I can't see doing a story without names, since it was a public event. People died in a fire, and it was our responsibility to report on them."

Star Ombudsman George Beveridge criticized the *Post* in an October 31 column. "I can't, for the life of me, imagine a like tragedy in any other location in which the victims should not be identified as a matter of legitimate reader interest," he wrote.

Post Managing Editor Howard Simons defends his paper's decision on the grounds that, "We couldn't be sure if the victims were homosexual. We wanted to

HELLBOX

protect innocent children and the wives of victims." Beveridge took a different view in his column. "For, while I haven't the slightest idea who at the Cinema Follies that evening was or wasn't homosexual," he wrote, "the question strikes me as being entirely beside the point." The *Post's* own ombudsman, Charles Seib, wrote that, "On balance, I thought the names should have been published."

Alfred Lewis, one of three *Post* reporters who covered the story, suggests that, "If it was the Ambassador to Russia who died in that fire, it would be goddamn important, wouldn't it?" But Lewis refused to fault his editors. "I've been a police reporter for 44 years at the *Post*," he says. "I'm used to taking orders."

Ken Walker, who covered the fire for the *Star*, called the rival paper's decision "patronizing and condescending. I'm very leery of newspapers that withhold information."

Simous insists that withholding the names of the victims of the Cinema Follies fire "in no way dictates future policy." But Sidney Epstein at the *Star* says his paper already has a policy: "We have a rule of thumb here—if it were somebody in my family, we'd still print it. You can't get much closer than that."

—JOHN KELLER

SHIELD TEST

N.J. Wants Tapes Of Alleged Murderer

What looked like a routine, if grisly, murder trial in New Jersey has turned into a significant test of that state's shield law for journalists, and an opportunity to question the

ethics of lawyers and journalists.

On October 27, jury selection was scheduled to begin in the trial of Harry W. F. De La Roche Jr., who is accused of murdering his parents and two brothers in their Montvale home on November 28, 1976. De La Roche allegedly confessed on the night of the crime, and the confession was printed in Long Island's *Newsday*. Since the arrest, De La Roche has been held in the Bergen County Jail Annex in lieu of \$250,000 bail.

On October 20, De La Roche, with the written consent of his attorney, Paul Taylor, and the consent of



Harry De La Roche Jr.: His second "confession" may redefine New Jersey's shield law.

Sheriff Joseph Job, granted an interview in his jail cell to Bergen *Record* reporter John Banaszewski. No guidelines were set for the interview, and Taylor—oddly—declined to be present.

During the four-hour interview, De La Roche recanted his original confession. He claimed that his brother Ronald had actually murdered the family after an argument with his father over marijuana. De La Roche told the *Record* that he had killed Ronald in a Cain-like rage after returning home to find his parents dead and his younger brother Eric dying of gunshot wounds.

This second confession, published prominently in the

Sunday *Record* and in the New York *Daily News* the next day, threw both the prosecution and the defense into an uproar. Taylor cried foul play, even though he had approved the interview. Bergen County Prosecutor Roger Breslin claimed that, while he could not legally prevent the interview, it had taken place without his knowledge. For this he blamed Sheriff Job, an 11-year veteran, who claims he forgot to notify Breslin of the visit.

On October 27, Taylor and Assistant Prosecutor Richard Salkin subpoenaed Banaszewski and the tapes of the interview. Both suspected that the unpublished portions of the interview could be useful. *Record* attorney Peter Banta, however, announced that the paper would resist the subpoena. Trial Judge James F. Madden then postponed the trial indefinitely because of the publicity surrounding the extraordinary interview.

The *Record's* response to the subpoena cites a newsman's privilege of confidentiality under the First Amendment. It also rests heavily on the recently amended shield law signed by Governor Brendan Byrne on October 5, which protects the confidentiality of unreleased portions of interviews and any notes or tapes gathered by a reporter working on a story.

"We want to get the message across that we're nobody's doormat," says Managing Editor James Ahearn, who stressed the need for newspapers to remain independent of both prosecutors and defense lawyers when gathering information.

Some attorneys believe, however, that the shield law conflicts with Rule 37 of the New Jersey Statutes, which states that once any part of a conversation between a professional and his client is released, the remainder of the conversation must be released as well. A judge may well have to resolve this conflict, in what could be an important precedent for interpreting other state shield

laws. Until then, the De La Roche trial will be delayed.

Meanwhile, questions swirl around Taylor's real motive in allowing his client to be questioned alone. Taylor says he is a "victim" of an opportunistic reporter who "took advantage of a very delicate situation." Frank Luciana, a prominent Bergen County defense lawyer, calls Taylor's decision "a blunder of the first magnitude," and adds, "It's as if he let them take his client to the police station and tape a confession."

Other attorneys and journalists have different views. They believe a shrewd Taylor was deliberately using the *Record* interview to generate favorable publicity for his client on the eve of the trial. The amended confession could be used to offset the public image of De La Roche as a cold-blooded mass murderer, and it might make a plea of insanity more palatable to the jurors. Others think that, regardless of Taylor's motives, the *Record* ought not to have printed anything from the interview just before the jury was to be selected.

The *Record*, having gained a scoop, is now faced with an enormous legal headache. And New Jersey may get a redefined shield law.

—ROB SNYDER

BUFFALO STAKES

'Courier' Sues To Block Sunday Competition

Fred Furth, a 43-year-old antitrust lawyer from San Francisco, arrived in Buffalo in October to rescue the morning *Courier-Express*. With a string of impressive legal victories behind him—including a \$70.5-million settlement against wallboard manufacturers for price fixing in 1973—Furth had been retained by the *Courier* in hope of thwarting the entrance of the already dominant *Buffalo Evening News*

into the Sunday market.

The *Evening News's* intention to challenge the *Courier* for the Sunday market was announced in September, five months after multi-millionaire Blue Chip Stamp king Warren E. Buffett bought the *News* for \$33 million from the founding Butler family. Many observers believe that a Sunday *News* would spell the end for the *Courier* (daily circulation 125,000; Sunday 270,000), which derives 61 percent of its total revenue from its previously uncontested Sunday edition.

On September 4, the day after the *News* (daily circulation 280,000; Saturday 295,000) published final plans to begin a Sunday paper on November 13, the *Courier* filed an anti-trust suit in Federal District Court in Buffalo. The suit sought to stop the *News* from giving away its Sunday paper to current subscribers for the first five weeks, from selling the paper for 30 cents (the *Courier* and other comparable upstate

Sunday papers sell for 50 cents), and from engaging in what the *Courier* views as "predatory" ad rates.

"One of the oldest ways to eliminate competition is to come in cheap and, after there is no competition, then raise the prices," Furth says. "The real edge in our complaint is that the *News* is trying to monopolize the market by using the deep pockets, the resources they have, to eliminate the *Courier-Express*. They're free to have a Sunday newspaper, but they're not free to have a newspaper that they're going to give away. They're not free to have a newspaper that would be sold below cost."

Furth called Buffett as his first witness during a November 4 hearing on a temporary injunction. When Furth asked about the *News's* initial giveaway program, Buffett replied flatly, "Nobody in Buffalo is going to get a free Sunday paper."

He then explained, "We're going to give the Sunday weekend paper to the people who have ordered the Saturday weekend paper, and we're going to give them the Saturday morning paper for free."

Under cross-examination, Buffett, who owns stock in *The Washington Post* and *The Boston Globe*, allowed that newspapering's "a very decent business, particularly if you're all by yourself."

Questioning *Courier* treasurer Richard C. Lyons Jr., Furth established that, during a five-week period in 1970—after the *Courier* jumped its price from a dime to 15 cents, but before the *News* followed suit—the *Courier* lost 20,000 in circulation. The morning paper never got those readers back, Lyons testified. Asked what effect a five-week giveaway would have on the *Courier*, Lyons said, "It could possibly be the catalyst to put the newspaper out of business."

While the *Courier's* legal case

may appear unusual and, perhaps, futile, the paper received a boost on November 9, when Judge Charles Briant enjoined the *News* from distributing the Sunday paper free for a period of more than two weeks. Briant dismissed Buffett's contention that it was, in fact, the Saturday paper that was being given away.

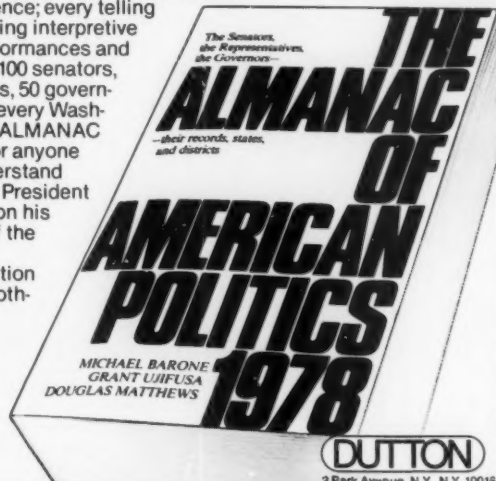
In addition, the judge warned the *News* about the truthfulness of its circulation guarantees to advertisers, and directed the paper to state only the actual paid circulation after the first two weeks.

More important for Furth and the *Courier*, though, was Briant's stated opinion that the *Courier* had shown a "clear probability of success at trial on the issue of specific intent to monopolize. Mr. Buffett made no secret of his economic motivation, and his acute awareness of the value attached to the ownership of the *Evening News* were it to become a monopoly."

Who else uses President Carter's desk reference?

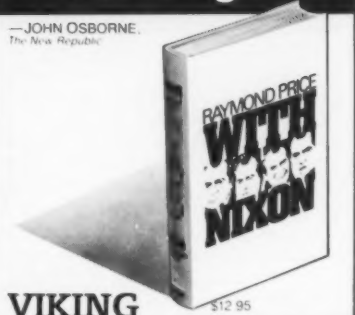
"The single most useful political document I have ever encountered."
—John Kenneth Galbraith. "Indispensable."—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
"Invaluable."—R.W. Apple. "Spiced with intimate detail."—New York Times. "Superbly useful."—Wall Street Journal.

Not just a reference; every telling fact is here, including interpretive essays on the performances and constituencies of 100 senators, 435 representatives, 50 governors. Used daily by every Washington insider, the ALMANAC is the handbook for anyone who wants to understand American politics. President Carter has a copy on his desk; put a copy of the brand-new, just-published 1978 edition on yours. \$16.95 cloth-bound; \$7.95 paperbound.



"I find this
account of seven
and a half years
with Richard Nixon
both fascinating
and troubling."

—JOHN OSBORNE,
The New Republic



BLACK INK VS. WHITE POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Report From Johannesburg: Fear And Anxiety Rule The Newsrooms

Government closes paper, citing article that never ran.

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Fear and anxiety are everywhere in the newsrooms of South African newspapers opposed to the government. Their presence is inimical to the tradition of a free press. The bold injunction to "publish and be damned" has become a platitude describing only journalists who work in a freer atmosphere.

The situation is not new, but it has become more acute since *The World* and *The Weekend World*, two newspapers catering to a predominantly black readership, were closed by decree on October 19. Over the years, South African journalists have learned to live with the restrictions imposed on them. The shutting down of these newspapers introduces an altogether new dimension.

No clear and specific reasons were given for the banning of the newspapers. They were deemed a threat to the maintenance of law and order. But how—and in what precise manner—they constituted a threat was never explained. Remaining opposition newspapers do not know what to do in order to survive.

James T. Kruger, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons, has offered only one example of an offending article, an educational piece on the Russian Revolution, which contrasted the position of workers and peasants before and after 1917. He cited the article during a TV show on which he discussed the banning of *The Weekend World* which, he said, had carried the piece. As it turned out, the article had not, in fact, been published there.

For newspapers wishing to survive—and to retain as much journalistic integrity as possible—that compounded the difficulty. If an article which was not published by a newspaper can be cited as a reason for banning it, how are the surviving opposition newspapers to tread the knife-edge between remaining loyal to the reader's right to know and averting banning by decree? The challenge—if that is the right word—is to detect the line of permissibility and to try, within that limitation, to function as a newspaper without degenerating into an apologist publication for the regime.

But there are no hard-and-fast criteria. Newspaper editors are forced to guess what they may be from remarks made by Kruger and from other indirect sources. One danger area can already be

Patrick Laurence is a reporter for the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1973, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison for attempting to publish an interview with the banned black leader Robert Sobukwe. The sentence was conditionally suspended for three years.



Liaison

detected from the Minister's remarks: newspapers with black readers are in greater danger than those with few or none. The *Rand Daily Mail*, for which I work, has a black readership which accounts for about half of its readers and about a third of its buyers. It is clearly in a danger zone.

As a result, reports about black people, or reports likely to interest or influence them, are treated with the utmost caution. The critical question is whether these articles will be regarded by the government as inciting their readers. Given the absence of clear criteria, the inclination is to err on the side of caution or, to put it less diplomatically, to embark on that most insidious exercise: self-censorship.

During recent congresses of the ruling National Party, Kruger and Prime Minister John Vorster launched sharp attacks on an editorial published in *The Weekend World*. The editorial called on whites to accept majority rule in a multiracial society, or face certain doom. Since these attacks preceded the banning of the newspaper, another deduction can be made: advocacy of majority rule is another perilous area. For white newspapers, however, it goes a step further. To reflect the aspirations of black leaders who stand unequivocally for the principle of one man,

one vote could be to cross the ill-defined threshold of tolerance and risk arbitrary banning.

The result of the pervasive atmosphere of fear is obsessive caution. No journalist would risk reporting a controversial speech unless he could verify his report with a tape recording. But even so, when it comes to writing the story, fingers hover indecisively over the typewriter. Fear immobilizes the brain and the hands. Only habit and the not inconsiderable dedication of many South African journalists unfreezes the paralysis.

After the article is written, there are checks and rechecks by "control" news editors and "revise" sub-editors. All reports with even a hint of controversy are read to lawyers, who often advise that sections be excised. The idea at the primary level is obviously to stay within the law—and there are dozens of laws which inhibit press freedom. But at the secondary level, it is to try and anticipate what may antagonize the Minister of Justice, even if the article is strictly within the law.

It should be remembered that these activities take place against a background of arbitrary detentions of journalists. On the day it was banned, *The World* carried a front-page account of the detention of three of its journalists, calling on the authorities either to charge or release them. That same day, Percy Qoboza, the editor, and one of his news editors, Aggrey Klaaste, were detained under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act.

A detained newsman can continue with his craft after release. But a fate worse than detention for a newspaperman is "banning." A banned journalist is confined to the world of the living dead for five years, during which time he may not enter the premises of a newspaper, or write or speak for publication. To compound the situation, there are security police agents on most newspapers. Their function is to spy and inform. The net result is paranoia, in which fingers are pointed—often falsely—at colleagues.

The power to ban newspapers has been on the statute book since 1950. It was used as early as 1952 against the *Guardian*, a left-wing publication. But the power to ban was exercised under the old Suppression of Communism Act. The line of permissibility was fairly clear. Only newspapers propagating a pro-communist line were in danger. It hardly affected the major newspapers, which were firmly committed to capitalism. A few journalists protested against the banning of the *Guardian* and its successors, but it was a tiny cry.

Then, in 1976, the Suppression of Communism Act was changed. It became the Internal Security Act, with the clearly expressed intention of containing the activities of "radicals," even if they were not communists or Marxists. An additional clause was added, enabling the Minister of Justice to ban newspapers which he deemed a threat to law and order. That they might be avowedly capitalist mattered not an iota.

The significance of the additional clause was hardly noticed at the time. Somehow, journalists did not anticipate that the new power would actually be used. It came as a shock when it was used on October 19—"Black Wednesday," as the South African *Sunday Express* dubbed it.

The power is there, and no one knows when it will be used again. But there is no doubt that it will be. It is part of the armory by which the white minority retains control. As the pressure for change increases, the degree of official tolerance diminishes. The tolerated opponents of yesterday become the "subversives" of tomorrow. ■

Students give the black power salute as they demonstrate in Soweto, the largest black township in South Africa, soon after the June 1976 uprisings.



TRUTH VICTIM OF PRESS LAWS

White Press Walks Tightrope Between Censorship, Survival

Middle of the road is a dangerous place.

BY MARTIN SCHNEIDER

The scenes and the sounds are so familiar.

His arms raised, his fists clenched, the leader of the National Party and Prime Minister of South Africa, Balthazar John Vorster, stands on the podium, his powerful, guttural, Afrikaaner voice booming and blustering as he attacks the opposition English-language newspapers, accusing them of inciting racial hatred, of being unpatriotic, of lying.

The crowd, sullen and silent only moments before, responds with frenzied enthusiasm.

"*Sluit hulle* (close them)," they shout in Afrikaans.

"*Kommuniste!*"

"*Liberaliste!*"

Then, suddenly, Vorster lowers his voice, calming them down again. Now, he's the model of sweet reasonableness.

He doesn't want to ban newspapers, he explains, because his National Party has always respected press freedom.

But, as he says so often, freedom goes hand in hand with responsibility. All the government expects is for the newspapers to be responsible, to tell the truth, to be South African.

Vorster's vision of the press, and specifically the opposition English-language newspapers, is shared by the majority of the country's four million whites—the 1.6 million English speakers, as well as the ruling Afrikaaner nationalists. They

perceive an insidious, unholy alliance between the English-language newspapers and the country's 18 million blacks in a conspiracy to undermine the whites, to impose majority rule.

In the process, the English-language newspapers have become inextricably intertwined in the escalating power struggle between the voteless black majority and the ruling white minority.

But, ironically, the English-language newspapers have been more an ally of white privilege than of black liberation.

Despite their liberal posture, the English-language newspapers are often hypocritical and essentially moderate, even conservative.

This does not mean that they don't deserve recognition for their persistent, often courageous attempts to keep alive democratic ideals since the racist National Party came to power in 1948. They can look back with pride over their uncompromising stand on the rule of law, on their persistent appeals to whites to give blacks a share in the running of the country.

But, committed in their editorials to a political, social, and economic system accommodating all South Africans, they nevertheless remain owned and totally controlled by whites.

Ownership is concentrated in two groups. The English-language morning newspapers are controlled by the South African Associated Newspapers group (SAAN), publishers of the *Rand Daily Mail* (published in Johannesburg

with a circulation of 150,000), the *Cape Times*, the *Eastern Province Herald*, and the East London *Daily Dispatch*, whose editor, Donald Woods, was recently banned. SAAN also has a major interest in the *Natal Mercury*, which is the only significant newspaper controlled directly by a family, the Robinsons of Durban.

From Johannesburg, the group also publishes the largest Sunday newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, as well as the *Sunday Express* and the prestigious *Financial Mail*, which has taken an important lead in attempts to convince white businessmen to pursue more enlightened employment practices.

The English-language afternoon newspapers are controlled by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, the oldest and financially the strongest press group in the country. Argus publishes the biggest daily in the country, *The Star* (Johannesburg, circulation 185,000). Among its other papers are the *Cape Argus* and *Weekend Argus* in Cape Town, the *Daily News* and the *Sunday Tribune* in Durban, and the *Pretoria News*.

Two of its newspapers for blacks, *The World* and *The Weekend World*, were banned on October 19, and their editor, Percy Qoboza, was taken into custody. He has still not been charged—though the government is not bound by law to give him his day in court. Argus's third black newspaper is the Zulu-language *Ilanga*, published in Durban.

Mining and financial interests, which also support white opposition political parties, are strongly represented on the boards of both groups. There are no black directors on their boards. There are few blacks in even minor executive positions.

Separate Washrooms

At the *Rand Daily Mail*, the most liberal of the English-language newspapers, whose readership is 57 percent black,

there are still signs on toilet doors on a number of floors designating separate washrooms for whites and blacks. On the reporters' floors, the signs have been removed, in violation of the law. The remaining signs have been retained largely to placate more conservative whites in the clerical and managerial departments.

For years, the *Rand Daily Mail* complied with the law on separate eating facilities, by providing one canteen for whites and another for blacks. It was only recently that a third, nonracial canteen was established at the request of reporters.

Although black and white reporters mix freely on the editorial floor, most of the blacks work for what is known as the "township" edition.

A special wrap-around of about eight pages, containing news about blacks and their townships around Johannesburg, this edition is aimed at boosting sales in black areas. However, the best of the black stories also usually appear in the *Mail's* main edition, to be read by whites.

The newspaper hierarchy now justifies this arrangement by pointing to the fact that many British newspapers have special regional editions. In South Africa, however, the same system appears as a perpetuation of *apartheid*.

The *Mail* has gained a considerable international reputation for its exposure of government malpractices and cruelties in the implementation of *apartheid*. But, like the other English-language newspapers, it has seldom made any practical commitment to its strong editorial stand against discrimination.

Above all, the English-language newspapers have yet to commit themselves to majority rule on the basis of one person, one vote, preferring to use such vague phrases as "shared power," and to promote reconciliation of the races through a national convention to negotiate their differences.

Martin Schneider is the political editor of the Rand Daily Mail. He is currently working as a reporter for the Boston Globe on an exchange program.

S. Coetzer/Sygma



A Soweto resident is collared during June 1976 uprisings.

Yet, for all their conservatism, the papers have seen whites turning against them in increasing numbers, and the government gradually eroding their freedoms. Slowly and relentlessly, the government is imposing restrictions, turning what was once Africa's freest press into an increasingly captive one.

The most frustrating, the most galling aspect of all is that

after nearly 30 years of Nationalist rule, after nearly 30 years of threats against the press, the government has never once made clear what it objects to in the English-language newspapers.

In the 1960s, the government appointed a Press Commission which sat for nearly a decade and produced a voluminous report without making specific allegations against

newspapers. And, earlier this year, in the latest such episode, Interior Minister Connie P. Mulder said he had a dossier detailing specific complaints. But, despite persistent inquiries, he refused to divulge its contents. It is doubtful whether his dossier actually exists. Meanwhile, the attacks continue.

It is virtually impossible to tell the truth in South Africa. Your duty as a reporter is to expose the facts. But how do you discharge your responsibility if there are, as the legal advisor to the SAAN group estimates, 76 clauses in various laws inhibiting your right to report information? There is no First Amendment and no Freedom of Information Act to enforce your rights.

Often, you are publishing grossly misleading information and even outright lies simply by reporting statements by cabinet ministers—the same people who are demanding a more “responsible press.”

And pity the reporter who tries to question Prime Minister Vorster. He loathes questioning. About two years ago, during a rare press conference at *Libertas*, his official residence in Pretoria, I asked Vorster why the government had refused to give a passport to Coloured Labour Party leader Sonny Leon.

He refused to go into the matter. I then suggested that the issue was in the public interest and deserved an answer. He again refused, and I repeated my question. Clearly agitated, Vorster replied that action had been taken because of Leon's activities in the United States during a previous visit, when he had called on American businessmen to withdraw investments from South Africa.

I then asked Vorster whether he believed hard-headed U.S. businessmen would listen to such a minor figure as the leader of the Coloured Labour Party. Vorster said that he had information to this effect. I asked for the information, claiming I found it difficult to

believe, but by now Vorster was glaring at me, indicating that the exchange was over.

The scene at the Boulevard Hotel bar, where the reporters gathered after the press conference, is what I recall most, though. A number of them, including English-language newspaper representatives, criticized me strongly, claiming I had shown unpardonable disrespect for the Prime Minister by my questioning.

In fact, a number of political journalists who share their newspapers' opposition to government policy are often subservient to Vorster, seldom asking contentious questions and rarely following up inadequate replies.

Some reporters are also afraid to use the telephone for anything more than routine calls. At the time of Vorster's press conference, I was working as political reporter for the *Sunday Tribune*, a bright and breezy Argus group newspaper published in the Indian Ocean city of Durban. Sitting in the *Tribune's* Pretoria office one day, I received a call from the news editor in Durban, Eugene Hugo, now Washington correspondent of the Argus group. We discussed progress on a number of stories and covered delicate and intimate details connected with them. Our conversation over, we replaced our receivers. Hugo then dialed out another call, but, as he started, he heard part of our earlier conversation being repeated. Obviously, it had been taped.

Shortly after, a reporter in the Durban office, Brian Gibson, picked up his phone to make a call and heard a familiar voice. It was mine, and I was talking to a friend in my office in Pretoria. My phone was on the hook, but Hugo and Gibson could hear virtually everything my friend and I were discussing. I examined my phone and searched my office, but couldn't find any bugging equipment—or at least anything that looked like bugging equipment. These experiences have made me reluctant to use the phone.

BANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following is a selected list of books, magazines, objects, and records that are banned in South Africa. According to the United Nations Unit on Apartheid, there are currently over 20,000 banned titles. Under the Publications Act of 1974, works deemed "undesirable" include those that "bring any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt" and anything that "is harmful to the relations between any section of the inhabitants of the Republic." Possession of so-called undesirable material is an offense punishable by fine or imprisonment. The titles on this list were compiled from U. N. documents and from the South African Government Gazette, which publishes a running record of bannings.

APPAREL

Jesus Jeans

Men's underpants with man on motorcycle and "Feel the Throb of Power"

T-shirt with emblem showing clenched fist and initials SASO (South African Students Organization)

BOOKS

Africa Research Group—*Race To Power: The Struggle For Southern Africa*

Allende, Salvador—*Chile's Road To Socialism*

Alther, Lisa—*Kinflicks*

Baldwin, James—*The Devil Finds Work; One Day When I Was Lost; A Rap On Race; Go Tell It On the Mountain*

de Beauvoir, Simone—*She Came To Stay*

Benchley, Peter—*Jaws*

Boston Women's Health Collective—*Our Bodies, Ourselves*

Brezhnev, L. I.—*Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*

Brown, Helen Gurley—*Cosmopolitan's Love Book*

Brownmiller, Susan—*Against Our Will*

Burgess, Anthony—*Napoleon Symphony*

Carrington, Nancy—*Guide To Sexy London*

Carter, Nick—*Aztec Avenger; Assassin: Code Name Vulture; The Black Death; The Death's Head Conspiracy; The Hour*

Of the Wolf; Rhodesia; Target: Doomsday Island

Cleaver, Eldridge—*Post-Prison Writings and Speeches*

Comfort, Alex—*The Joy Of Sex; More Joy—A Lovemaking Companion To the Joy Of Sex*

Dalton, David—*The Rolling Stones*

Davis, Angela—*If They Come In the Morning*

Didion, Joan—*A Book Of Common Prayer*

Ehrlich, Max—*The Reincarnation Of Peter Proud*

Farber, Jerry—*The Student As Nigger*

Forsyth, Frederick—*The Odessa File*

Fowles, John—*The Collector; The Magus*

Freud, Sigmund—*Cocaine Papers*

Friday, Nancy—*Forbidden Flowers*

Gaines, Ernest—*The Autobiography Of Miss Jane Pittman*

Giovanni, Nikki—*Black Feeling/Black Talk/*

Black Judgement

Goldman, Albert—*Ladies and Gentlemen—Lenny Bruce!*

Greene, Felix—*The Enemy*

Guevara, Che—*Guerrilla Warfare*

Harmon, Sandra—*A Girl Like Me*

Heller, Joseph—*Something Happened*

Hernon, Calvin C.—*Sex and Racism In America*

Hirschfeld, Burt—*Aspen*

Hite, Shere—*The Hite Report*

Hoagland, Jim—*South Africa: Civilizations In Conflict*

Ho Chi Minh—*Selected Articles and Speeches*

International Defense and Aid Fund For Southern Africa—

Focus On Political Repression In Southern Africa

Jackson, George—*Blood In My Eye*

Jaffe, Rona—*The Last Chance*

Jong, Erica—*Fear Of Flying*

Kenner, Martin and Petras, James—*Fidel Castro Speaks*

Kesey, Ken—*Kesey's Garage Sale*

Killens, John Oliver—*Black Man's Burden*

Kim Il Sung—*Selected Works*

King, Stephen—*Salem's Lot*

Kosinski, Jerzy—*Cockpit; The Devil Tree*

Leek, Sybil—*Driving Out the Devils*

Lenin, V.I.—*Imperialism, The Highest Stage Of Capitalism;*

Lukacs, Georg—*History and Class Consciousness*

Luxemburg, Rosa—*Selected Political Writings*

MacDonald, Ross—*Black Money*

MacFarlane, Aidan—*Psychology Of Childbirth*

Malamud, Bernard—*The Tenants*

Malcolm X—*Autobiography Of Malcolm X*

Malina, Judith and Beck, Julian—*Paradise Now*

Mann, Patrick—*Dog Day Afternoon*

Mao Tse-Tung—*Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*

Marcuse, Herbert—*Soviet Marxism*

Marighela, Carlos—*For the Liberation Of Brazil*

Marine, Gene—*The Black Panthers*

Marx, Karl—*Capital: A Readable Introduction To Volume One; Economy, Class and Social Revolution; Essential Works*

Of Karl Marx; Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations

Mason, Richard—*The World Of Susie Wong*

Mayakovsky, Vladimir—*Poems*

McCullers, Carson—*Reflections In a Golden Eye*

McMurtry, Larry—*The Last Picture Show*

Millett, Kate—*Flying*

Moore, Robin—*Dubai*

Murdoch, Iris—*The Black Prince*

Myrdal, Jan—*Report From a Chinese Village*

Naipaul, V.S.—*Guerrillas*

Nin, Anais—*A Spy In the House Of Love*

Nkrumah, Kwame—*Class Struggle In Africa*

Nyerere, Julius K.—*Freedom and Development*

Oglesby, Carl—*The New Left Reader*

du Plessix Gray, Francine—*Lovers and Tyrants*

Powell, William—*The Anarchist Cookbook*

Pownhall, David—*My Organic Uncle and Other Stories*

Pynchon, Thomas—*Gravity's Rainbow*

Randall, Peter—*A Taste Of Power*

Ray, Elizabeth L.—*The Washington Fringe Benefit*

Reuben, Dr. David—*How To Get More Out Of Sex*

Robbins, Harold—*The Lonely Lady*

Robbins, Tom—*Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*

Rockwell, George Lincoln—*This Time the World*

Rolling Stone—*The Rolling Stone Rock 'n' Roll Reader*

Rolling Stone—*The Who*

Rossner, Judith—*Looking For Mr. Goodbar*

Roth, Philip—*The Breast; Goodbye, Columbus; My Life As a Man*

Rubin, Jerry—*Do It!*

Sagan, Françoise—*A Certain Smile; Bonjour Tristesse*
 Seaman, Barbara—*Free and Female*
 Sheldon, Sidney—*A Stranger In the Mirror; The Naked Face*
 Sihanouk, Norodom—*My War With the CIA*
 Southern Africa Committee—*Southern Africa*
 Stalin, Joseph—*Leninism*
 Stern, Richard—*Other Men's Daughters*
 Susann, Jacqueline—*Valley Of the Dolls*
 Torres, Camillo—*Complete Writings and Messages Of Camillo Torres*
 Updike, John—*A Month Of Sundays*
 U. S. Marine Corps—*Destruction By Demolition, Incendiaries and Sabotage*
 Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.—*Happy Birthday Wanda June; Slapstick*
 Wakefield, Dan—*Starting Over*
 West, Nathaniel—*Miss Lonelyhearts*
 World Peace Council—*Spotlight On . . . Soweto*

PERIODICALS

Camera 35 (May '76)
Der Spiegel (Nov. '75; Feb., March, April, June, July, Sept. '76)
Ebony (Feb. '77)
Esquire (Aug. '75; April, Sept., Dec. '76)
L'Express (July '75)
Films and Filming (Feb. '76)
Gentlemen's Quarterly (Summer '76)
Hustler (May '76; June '76)
London (June/July '76)
Master Detective (Feb. '76)
Namibia Bulletin
Namibia News (all issues)
Best Of National Lampoon (Aug. '72; March '76)
Overseas Daily and Sunday Mirror (Jan./Feb. '76)
Packaging Review South Africa (May '75)
Pageant (Jan., March, Oct., Dec. '76)
Penthouse Photo World (April/May '76)
Photography and Travel (Sept. '75)
Trust (Dec. '75)
Zap Comix

POSTERS

The Godfather
 Is There Room For Christ This Christmas?
 Jesus Jeans
 Levi's

RECORDS

Carlin, George—*Class Clown*
 Creedence Clearwater Revival—*Tribute To Creedence*
Clearwater Revival
Hair
 Jesus Christ Superstar
 Lennon, John—*John Lennon/Plastic Ono Band*
 Summer, Donna—*Love To Love You Baby*

WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS

According to P. E. N. International, at least 24 writers, journalists, and editorial personnel are now in prison or under banning orders for political activity. In the country as a whole, some 2,500 people have been detained since June 1976 under security laws, and many times this number under provisions of criminal statutes.

The 76 Press Restrictions

The 76 clauses that impose official, legal restrictions on a newspaper's right to publish information—and that provide for fines and jail terms for contravening them—include the following:

- The Terrorism Act of 1967, which mandates the indefinite detention, without charge, of any person suspected of terrorism, defined as any activity that might "endanger the maintenance of law and order in South Africa." The Act applies to journalists inasmuch as it is also a "terrorist offense" to "further or encourage the achievement of any political aim, or social or economic change."

- The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956, which makes it illegal to publish, print, make known or advertise anything about any meeting that has been banned under any other act.

- The Prisons Act of 1959, which provides that any unauthorized person who "publishes or divulges any information concerning any prisoner, ex-prisoner or the administration of any prison" is guilty of an offense and liable to a fine or one year's imprisonment.

The Act also makes it an offense to publish "false" information about prison experiences; and the onus of proving that "reasonable steps" have been taken to verify information is placed on the accused, an inversion of South African legal tradition. Under this clause, a reporter, editor, and the owners of the *Rand Daily Mail* were convicted and fined in 1963 for relying on sworn affidavits of former prisoners and warders in published reports on prison conditions.

- The Atomic Energy Act, which prohibits publication of any nuclear information, including details on uranium production, without official clearance. Under these restrictions we could report this year

that President Carter, acting on information from the Soviet Union, warned South Africa not to produce a nuclear bomb. But we could not give the reader an analysis of our nuclear program, or of the extent of research at the Pelindaba laboratories, 30 miles north of Pretoria.

- The Defense Amendment Act of 1967, which prohibits publication at any time, in any form, of any information about South Africa's Defense Force without official clearance.

An Invasion Goes Unreported

In August 1974, for example, South African troops entered Angola, as civil war in that country escalated with the intervention of Cuban troops. Officially, the South African troops were to be stationed at Calueque, 30 miles across the Angolan border with Namibia. Officially, they were there merely to protect a storage dam regulating the Cunene River's flow to the Ruacana falls, where the South African government was financing a hydroelectric power station.

But, by late 1974, South African troops were hundreds of miles from Calueque, overrunning the Cubans. They were soon within striking distance of Luanda, the Angolan capital, after a dramatic four-day campaign covering nearly 2000 miles. Yet, not a word of the action appeared in South African newspapers. Under the terms of the Defense Act, nothing could be published. Transgressions would have been punishable by jail sentences, or fines, or both. No editor was prepared to risk that.

It was an agonizing time for the country's newspapers, particularly for the English-language newspapers, which were either opposed to the war or highly critical of the government's decision to enter a neighboring country's civil war.

Information came in almost daily, but, on each occasion, Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha, or his designated of-

ficers, refused clearance for publication. Worse still, London newspapers carrying stories on the war were being sold in South Africa. We could not even publish that fact.

The first time we could publish any substantial information was when South African troops started withdrawing from Angola.

I vividly recall the occasion. It was a Saturday morning, and I was sitting in the Cape Town office of the *Sunday Express*, which I was working for at the time. Our news editor in Johannesburg sent me a telexed copy of a London newspaper report that South African troops were withdrawing from Angola. Would I please clear it with the Department of Defense?

I contacted the Defense Force Public Relations officer with the request.

The Defense Force deliberated for some two hours and finally cleared parts of the London report, without adding any statement of its own.

We could then publish the news of the South African troop withdrawal from Angola, though we had never been able to tell the public that we had gone into that country in the first place.

The country was only officially and fully informed about South Africa's whole campaign in Angola some 12 months after the fact. And even then, it was not informed through Parliament, but through a Defense Force statement aimed at countering detailed reports of the entire campaign that were again appearing in London newspapers.

Bannings

Any journalist who does not run afoul of the acts prohibiting specific coverage may yet be charged under the infamous Internal Security Act of 1976. The act extended the government's existing power to suppress communism to include any publication that serves in any way "as a means for expressing views or con-

veying information, the publication of which is calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order." It was under the provisions of this act that Percy Qoboza was detained and Donald Woods was banned in October.

Like anyone else who is banned, a banned journalist may not speak or write for publication. He may not attend gatherings, speak to more than one person at a time, or—though the law is not perfectly clear on this point—be in the presence of more than one person at a time.

In the interests of self-preservation, the press has become hypersensitive. When the Johannesburg-based *Sunday Times* recently arranged to take a picture of banned East London *Daily Dispatch* Editor Donald Woods and his wife, it pondered the possibility that its photographer could be charged as the third person in the room, or that Woods himself could be charged with being in violation of his banning order.

The *Sunday Times* published the picture in the end. But the fact that it thought so hard about doing so indicates that government threats and pressures are causing some newspapers to react with far greater caution than they have in the past.

Donald Woods had become a target of these pressures, and his silencing robs South Africa of a vital conciliatory voice at a time of mounting racial confrontation. In his weekly syndicated column, Woods had appealed to whites to consider very seriously the worth and validity of Steve Biko and his colleagues in the Black Consciousness Movement.

Woods, who had virtually become Biko's blood brother, was the most articulate advocate of nonracialism in the country. Now, not being able to quote Woods, newspapers cannot give him the opportunity to state his case. The Minister of Justice who banned him, however, can say what he

likes about the man.

The detention without trial of *The World* Editor Percy Qoboza underlines the government's reckless rejection of moderates. The fact is that black nationalists had virtually written off Qoboza. He was far too moderate for them. His *World* and *Weekend World* were almost apolitical. Stung by Uncle Tom smears, shaken out of complacency by last year's Soweto events, and stimulated by a year at Harvard as a Nieman Fellow, Qoboza had recently been turning his tame newspapers into highly effective organs articulating the aspirations of young blacks, while always advocating a negotiated settlement between the races.

Despite his growing influence among the militant youth, he remained moderate. But the more he urged the government to accept that time was running out, the more angry the government became.

Today, few people outside of the warders and the security police know what is happening to Percy Qoboza in detention. Provisions of the Internal Security Act do not require that the government charge him in court. They can hold him for as long as they like. They are not even obliged to allow him to see a lawyer. The Prisons Act, moreover, makes it very risky for a paper to publish any information it may have about what is happening to him in prison.

Controlling The Press

Concerted moves to gain actual control of the press can be traced back to the cataclysmic events of May 1974. In that month, General Antonio Spínola sparked the overthrow of the Portuguese regime and granted independence to Portugal's two Southern African colonies, Mozambique and Angola. Those events unleashed a chain reaction, escalating the black nationalist guerrilla war against white-ruled Rhodesia

and Namibia and raising black expectations to new heights inside South Africa itself.

A new wave of black political activity followed, culminating in last year's Soweto demonstrations, which led to fresh bannings of black organizations. And, if the government felt the need to control political organizations pressing for change, it also felt the necessity of controlling the English-language press, with its persistent clamor for rapid reform.

The government's tactic was to put pressure on the National Press Union (NPU), an organization of English and Afrikaner newspaper publishers. The NPU had set up its own press council in the 1960s to deflect government attempts to include newspapers under the Publications and Entertainment Act of 1963, which effectively subjected all other media to government censorship.

Operating under its own code of conduct, the NPU's press council was nominally established to hear public complaints against the press. The South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) rejected the code and the council, however, stating that provisions in the code meant "plainly that criticism of present government policy must be toned down."

Late last year, the government indicated to the NPU that it was "dissatisfied" with the way it was disciplining itself. The government's intention, it appeared, was to persuade the publishers to back the idea of a formal, statutory press council. The NPU refused to comply, offering instead to review its own press council. The SASJ rejected any form of negotiations with the government.

The government responded early this year by drawing up a comprehensive press bill which would empower it to establish a new, three-man press council, two of whose members it would appoint. The council would rule on press conduct according to a new and ill-defined code of conduct which, among other things, would require newspapers to observe

Majofra/Contact



Black Consciousness: Steve Biko after autopsy. He died in a Pretoria prison September 12 under questionable circumstances.

the "national interest." It was a chilling prospect in a society where the government often equates the national interest with its own.

But even more chilling was the fact that newspapers found guilty of violating the code of conduct by the council could be closed down summarily under the bill. Editors and reporters could be jailed, or fined, or both.

The NPU replied to government threats to introduce the bill this year by making minor changes in its own council and code of conduct. Apparently mollified, the government announced that, in view of the NPU action, it would give the press another chance and withhold the press bill until January 1978. By mid-year, though, the government was already threatening *The World*, and, in October, closed it down.

Matters were coming to a head. The editors of the English-language newspapers declared in a statement that they would "not be intimidated." The Afrikaans press, which had followed government dictates since the National Party achieved power

in 1948, made a momentous decision: some papers came out strongly against the banning of *The World* and the actions against Woods and Qoboza.

Confrontation

As the white nationalists and the black nationalists confront each other, the former determined not to give up their power, the latter determined not to compromise in their desire for it, calls for moderation by English-language newspapers are likely to become anathema to the two opposing groups.

Black nationalists will view the newspapers as far too moderate and will tend to see them as appendages of the white power structure. Whites will view these same papers as too extreme. The middle of the road will become a dangerous place.

How will South African newspapers react?

It seems reasonable to assume that some South African newspapers will wilt under the strain, imposing self-censorship, often unconsciously. They may begin to shift

emphasis, and omit information.

Other newspapers may decide that any form of self-censorship is totally unacceptable, that they should become more committed in their opposition to discrimination, support majority rule, and initiate their own affirmative-action programs so that their staffs will reflect the nature of the community and the country they serve.

Whether whites, no matter how liberal, can make the commitment required to align themselves with the new black-dominated country that will inevitably emerge in the future remains to be seen. But perhaps a measure of how far behind they are can be seen in the inability of many white reporters to come to terms with their black colleagues.

Friendships among them can seldom develop in the way that personal relations develop in so many other countries.

They start on the newsroom floor, but after work I can't say to a black colleague, "Let's have a drink at the Fed"—the Federal Hotel bar across the road from the *Rand Daily Mail*.

I can't take a black colleague to the Fed because bars are strictly racially segregated. Nor can I take him to local restaurants.

Social relations after work are also difficult because whites and blacks live in segregated areas, usually many miles apart, always linked by inadequate transportation.

As for love: pity black and white staff members who want to become even better friends. Love-making across the color line is a crime in South Africa.

For many journalists in South Africa today, the future holds grim prospects.

The vast majority of them share with so many other South Africans a passionate love for a beautiful land which has so much to offer and such enormous potential wealth.

In the final analysis, it is their patriotism that is being tested. But at this stage, it appears that the penalty for forcefully expressing a patriotism that embraces all South Africans is detention without trial, banning, or the closing down of newspapers.

Ask Percy Qoboza. Ask Donald Woods. ■

NEWSROOM APARTHEID

A Black Editor's Account Of Life With White Bosses

Reporting from behind the color line.

BY OBED KUNENE

I was on my way to work one cold winter morning in Durban, back in 1957, when I espied a police pass-checking squad at a distance. I knew instinctively that black men were being stopped at random and ordered to produce "reference books," the little, brown documents that all blacks are legally forced to carry in South Africa.

As I drew nearer, a chilling thought suddenly occurred to me. My *dom pass* (the pejorative name used by most of us blacks) was not in its usual place—the hip pocket of my trousers. I had unwittingly left it on my bedside table at home in the rush to catch my bus to the city.

Ordinarily, I should have panicked and, perhaps, retraced my steps or fled to avoid possible arrest. But I did not panic. For I remembered that, apart from the notebook and paperback novel under my arm, I had another "personal" document in one of my coat pockets—a small, yellow press I. D. card.

The card bore a small, passport-size photograph of myself, a short note about who and what I was, and two signatures—my own and that of my manager. I valued that yellow piece of paper. It set me apart from my peers. It confirmed that I was now a full-time newspaper reporter, quite a change from my previous factory jobs. I had even showed it

proudly to my parents and to friends in my slummy neighborhood who had never before had a journalist living in their midst. Alas, little did I know how valueless my proud possession would soon prove to be.

First, the black cop who intercepted me laughed uproariously and in a sinister kind of way when I timidly tried to explain to him how I had forgotten my pass.

"You go tell that kind of story to your grandmother, not me," he said gruffly.

Then he was joined by an irascible-looking white cop who wanted to know what was going on.

"Meneer (mister)," I implored, "I don't have my passbook with me, but I have a press card and I can show it to you."

The man took one look at my card and proceeded to tear it into a dozen pieces before throwing it angrily to the sidewalk.

"When we say pass, *jong* (man), we mean pass, not any bloody piece of rubbish, you hear?" the white cop flared at me. He promptly snapped a pair of handcuffs around my wrists and ordered me to join the long queue of arrested pass offenders.

As we stood there on the street corner waiting for the *kwela kwela* (police van) to cart us off to the nearest charge office, I felt a curious mixture of embarrassment and awkwardness. It was most embarrassing to be lined up against the wall, with handcuffs you could hardly conceal, and made to look like a criminal. The pitiless stares of the passersby were

Knosi/Liaison



Soweto residents demonstrate for release of detainees.

unbearable. I also felt very awkward, like the typical odd man out, when I looked around and realized I was the only one in that bunch who was reasonably well-dressed. I wore a smart pair of pants, a sport jacket, and a fancy necktie. The others looked like street sweepers, or garbage collectors.

I remember the fellow next to me, who must have had a peculiar sense of humor. He would occasionally steal sidelong glances at me and then chuckle loudly, to no one in particular, "Hey, the cops are quite hot today. They even arrest the 'excuse me' types." (This is a sarcastic remark often used by illiterate blacks to describe an educated fellow black.)

My release was secured much later in the day by the

manager of my newspaper, *Ilanga*, who had to pay an admission-of-guilt fine on my behalf.

In the South African context, the incident was nothing out of the ordinary. Thousands of fellow blacks before me had been victims of the pernicious pass laws, and no amount of protest, either through the media, political organizations, or individual activists, had brought about any change.

An interesting question arose, however: what protection, if any, did the black journalist enjoy under the harsh *apartheid* system, with its mind-boggling plethora of restrictive laws? Obviously, none. My press card had been flashed, and it had amounted to nothing.

Very little has changed since then. Black reporters who find

Obed Kunene is the editor of Ilanga, a Zulu-language newspaper published in Durban, South Africa. He is currently a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.



themselves at odds with the various white authorities still suffer the same rejection, the same non-recognition and sniggering disregard that I and many others have experienced.

In the days when I was a reporter, there was no official police recognition of press cards held by black newsmen. It created many problems. No black reporter in my days in Durban, for instance, could attend the daily press conferences called by senior officials at the local police headquarters. For white reporters, it was "open house."

If a black reporter telephoned an officer, or called personally at his office for an interview, he could be, and often was, turned away on the grounds that his credentials were unacceptable. The yellow I. D. card didn't help.

"Keep Well Away"

I got into journalism in 1957, at the most exciting time in the history of black political resistance in South Africa. The now-banned political organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, were at their zenith.

Black residential areas in various parts of the country were in turmoil. Freedom marches, protest rallies, mass demonstrations, and boycott campaigns were the order of the day. As a general news reporter, I was often paired with an experienced colleague and assigned to cover most of the political activities. We had our fair share of unpleasant encounters with overly zealous cops.

On one occasion, thousands of angry black women staged a protest march from Cato Manor—a notorious slum area just outside the city of Durban. The women, as we understood it, were determined to march into the city's central prison, where they were to demand the release of political prisoners.

Having no transport of our own, my partner, a photographer, and I hitched a lift in a car carrying a team of white journalists. As soon as the police saw us, we were ordered to "keep well away" from the marching women. The white journalists from the local dailies showed their press cards and were allowed to cover the march unhindered.

Willie, my colleague, the photographer, and myself showed our cards, too. The senior officer commanding the

squad of heavily armed riot police shook his head and said, "No dice." He wouldn't even allow our photographer to shoot his pictures from a distance.

The laughable irony, of course, was that the police could not stop my newspaper from reporting on that march. The white journalists could only sympathize with us, although it was not difficult to detect the ill-concealed smirks on their faces. But we figured we had the last laugh, because we were black and the demonstrating women were black. We knew where to go for what we called the "story behind the story." We knew better than the whites what the hassling was all about.

Today, there is official police recognition of the black press as an institution. Press cards

may now be obtained from the chief commissioner of police in Pretoria. It is by no means an easy process, however. The records of applicants are carefully scrutinized, and the commissioner has sole discretionary powers. Some applications have been turned down, although no reasons have been given.

Yet, even with this small concession, black reporters are not exactly immune from official harassment. There was ample evidence of this during last year's disturbances in Soweto, the sprawling black ghetto just outside Johannesburg. Several black reporters and photographers were arrested and detained for varying periods. Most were later released without any charges being brought against them.

The So-Called Black Press

The contention by most observers that the authorities, from the highest government official to the lowest minion, seem bent on intimidating the black press, possibly even destroying it, does not sound farfetched when viewed against certain recent events in South Africa.

The arrest of Percy Qoboza and the closing down of his two newspapers, *The World* and *The Weekend World*, are cases that come readily to mind. Percy Qoboza and I are the only two black newspaper editors in South Africa today. So, naturally, what's been done to Percy—his summary arrest and detention without trial, and the closing down of his newspapers—is a matter of great concern to me.

I'm concerned for the sake of every black child, man, and woman in South Africa for whom people like Percy serve as a source of inspiration, providing the enduring hope that "we shall overcome." And I'm concerned also for the sake of every black journalist in South Africa. For who can tell what the future holds?

A closer look at the so-called black press and the position of black journalists in South Africa is more than appropriate at this time.

I use the word "so-called" advisedly, for there is no black press in my country in the sense that people here in America may understand it. With one exception (a newspaper owned by Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi), there are no blacks owning or running their own newspapers.

The three major newspapers, catering almost exclusively to the African reader, are *The World*, *The Weekend World* (both based in Johannesburg) and *Ilanga*, of which I'm the editor. *Ilanga* is a biweekly published in the Zulu language and based in Durban. It is the country's only African-language newspaper of national stature. All three publications are owned by a white company, Argus Printing and Publishing. (Argus also owns, as its "non-white" subsidiaries, *The Post*, a Durban-based weekly for Indian readers, and *The Cape Herald* for the colored community in Cape Town.)

A relatively new feature on the black press scene is the advent of what is euphemistically known as "the township extra." It is a supplement offered to the black township reader as a "special service." It comes as part of the main sections of white-oriented daily and Sunday newspapers that have always enjoyed a substantial black readership.

The "extras," or "township editions" as some prefer to call them, are staffed almost entirely with black reporters who are under the authority of a white editor. The "extras" tend to confine themselves largely to coverage of straightforward news from the black areas. They put the emphasis on the social, sporting, and crime scenes.

If the role of these "extras" remains somewhat ill-defined in terms of a discernible editorial policy, their appearance has served at least one useful purpose. They have

expanded the hitherto narrow scope within which the black press has existed. Consequently, there has been a swelling of the ranks as more and more young blacks have been attracted to journalism. The steadily growing black press corps must be seen as a significant development.

'The World' Turns

Percy Qoboza was appointed editor of *The World* in early 1974, following the retirement of a former schoolmaster who had been in the editorial chair for ten years. By the former editor's own admission, his tenure at *The World* marked the "unhappiest, most frustrating" years of his life.

"In all those years," he once told me, "I was anything but an editor."

A tradition had been established at Argus's black papers whereby a white journalist would be appointed "editorial director." He was the man who assumed full responsibility for the paper and in whose hands was vested the authority to direct the paper's policy. He did the hiring and the firing. In short, as they would say back home, the "E. D." was the *makhulu* (big) boss.

On the right-hand side of the "big boss," a black appointee would sit as the "editor." I can only think of one word—eunuch—to describe the role of the black editor under such circumstances. I remember the time when some of the younger reporters often joked about "the ex-teacher who should have been sitting in a shop window as a dummy." Apparently, the joke was not lost on the hapless former schoolmaster.

And what sort of newspaper was *The World* then? It was an ordinary, run-of-the-mill tabloid, indistinguishable from the rest of its peers. The paper had a fascinating predilection, though, for the sensational.

"Mourners Collapse At Graveside As Well-Known Gangster Is Buried!"; "Murder And Robbery Squad

Cops In Soweto Shoot-Out!"; "Bishop On Wild Buying Spree!"; "Teenager Raped In Church Vestry!"; these were typical examples of *The World* headlines that often greeted the township reader. The sensitive, political issues affecting black people were given a cautious, low-key treatment.

The sensationalism did not do much for the paper's circulation. Perhaps not surprisingly, there was a dramatic change of attitude on the part of the paper's management. A drastic overhaul of editorial policy was effected. A new, forward-looking and sensible approach to the paper's task was adopted. A lot of the "chaff" that previously formed the paper's staple diet was ditched. Percy Qoboza was given his rightful place as the editor, with autonomy and responsibility to run the paper.

And then, of course, came June 16, 1976. And the roaring anger of Soweto. It changed the course of South Africa's history. It also changed *The World*—dramatically.

From a lackluster organ with a subdued voice, the paper grew almost overnight to become the roaring champion of the black cause. It began to speak the language of the people. It sent roving squads of reporters into every corner of Soweto. They came away with "scoop" stories on the shootings, the killings, the burnings, the lootings. Some of the white newspapers were forced to study *The World* for their own news coverage.

Clearly, *The World* had at last arrived. In the second half of 1976, its circulation shot up from 131,000 to 159,000 copies a day, a phenomenal rise of 21 percent.

Now Percy Qoboza and his papers have been ruthlessly silenced. Knowing Percy as I do, and familiar as I am with what he earnestly and sincerely was trying to do through the media, I can only repeat what has been stated already in many quarters. The curtain has been rung down on the last cosmetic claim to democracy

Reininger/Contact



Percy Qoboza (third from left) and colleagues in the newsroom of *The World* before his arrest.

and legitimacy by the South African government—namely, the toleration of a free and moderate press.

Getting Started At 'Ilanga'

My own paper, *Ilanga*, has a history that differs somewhat from that of its Johannesburg counterpart. It was founded in 1903 by Dr. J. L. Dube, a Zulu theologian and political leader who received part of his education in the United States.

I've spent the last 20 years toiling away for *Ilanga*. From a background of almost indescribable poverty, I was educated up to high school level, and then had to go out to work so that my two brothers and sister might be educated also.

I didn't know what I wanted to be until after high school. I had often dreamed vaguely of becoming a lawyer or a doctor, or some such highbrow stuff. But, of course, I knew they were just dreams.

But of one thing I was certain. I wasn't about to spend the rest of my life like my father—working as a "delivery boy," running errands to white homes in the city suburbs.

And so, while working first as a gardener and then as a factory hand after leaving school, I studied privately for my matriculation. At the same time, I discovered an interest in journalism. I had toyed a bit with writing for magazines in high school, but had no formal course in journalism. I just went to the library and boned up on whatever relevant reading material I came across. Soon, I was sending off articles to various publications, including *Ilanga*. I received many rejection slips.

Eventually, I landed the reporter's job. *Ilanga* then was a dull, lifeless, uninspiring, nondescript, tabloid-sized weekly regarded by many as a bit of a joke. Indeed, no self-respecting black would want to be seen with a copy of the paper. It contained, by and large, souped-up translations of snippets of news and views from the white press. There was very little in-depth coverage of issues vitally affecting blacks. The few items that somehow wangled their way into the paper's columns were invariably of little or no consequence. "Last month's news today," might not have been an unfair reflection of the paper's format.

There was an editor—a noted African author and Zulu historian—but he seldom was seen around the place. We understood he was preoccupied with his own wars with the white management. As a result, it was not clear who exactly was in charge of the day-to-day running of the paper's editorial department. The total editorial staff was seven: a news editor, sub-editor, four reporters, and a photographer.

There was also an elderly white gentleman of Scottish descent. He was a former Argus Company editor who had been pensioned off. He came in daily for a three-hour stint as "editorial advisor." It wasn't long, however, before it dawned on us what his role was. It was to direct editorial policy and generally "keep an eye" on things.

The paper wasn't doing well at all. Its circulation seemed resolutely stuck somewhere in the region of 10-15,000 copies per week.

But such economic bothers were not my immediate concern. Callow, but eager and ambitious, I just wanted to learn to be a good newspaperman. The hours were long and irregular, the conditions

generally far from comfortable.

The assignments that normally came my way ranged from nightlong train rides to cover unveilings of headstones over the graves of obscure country village elders, to the more spectacular and flamboyant enthronements of tribal kings. I also did a fair amount of sports reporting.

The stresses, the pressures, and the frustrations of being a black journalist in South Africa's *apartheid* society have always taken their toll, but never more painfully than on the few who dare to show an independence of thought and spirit, and a stubborn refusal to be ploughed under by the repressive, white-dominated system.

Like Percy Qoboza's "unhappy" predecessor, I, too, have had my fair share of trials and tribulations. I was appointed editor of *Ilanga* in 1964, at age 27—the youngest journalist, black or white, to be so elevated. But it was soon to prove a hollow, meaningless, and thoroughly frustrating business.

A white colleague—the "E.D."—was placed above me. Although on the personal level we got along as well as could be expected, I soon

sensed that, when it came to our professional perceptions and priorities, we were as different as chalk and cheese.

I sensed that he saw *Ilanga* as "his special baby," to do with as he pleased. My role was a secondary one, to be subservient and to pander to all of my colleague's needs and machinations. And yet, for public consumption, and to give the paper a "black image," I, Obed Kunene, was the editor.

There were moments, absolutely ludicrous moments as I look back on it, when I wouldn't even know what was going into the paper until I saw it in print. Protesting about it didn't seem to help any. The usual response, always subtle and never directly stated, seemed to be: what have you got to bitch about? You've got the appointment and it comes with a reasonably decent salary. So what's the big "squeal" all about?

There were also occasions when it became patently clear to me that the usual stereotyped white views about black aptitudes and capabilities were alive and well and living healthily within the newspaper establishment.

In late 1964, for example, there was a major disaster in Durban in which a train packed with black township commuters was derailed, killing nearly 100 people and injuring scores of others. I had been left in sole charge of the paper, the "E. D." having gone on vacation. Because of the enormity of the tragedy, a special edition became a must.

My team of reporters had done a marvelous job of covering the disaster. We had all worked extremely hard to put the edition together. Page one was on the "stone," just waiting for a few touch-ups, when I walked the "E. D.," straight from several hours' drive from his beach cottage.

"All right, everybody. Joe, you do this. Sam, you do that. Harry, you bring me this and... quick, quick now. There's no time to waste. Let's take this

paper to bed." That was my friend, the "E. D.," taking over from me with all the flourish and arrogance of "the great white master."

When he turned to me and started giving me orders, I thought it was the ultimate in effrontery. I just said: "That will be the f---ing day," strode off in a huff to my office, picked up my jacket, and went off to get myself smashed at a nearby *shebeen* (an illegal pub).

There's always two sides to a story, did I hear you say? Well, that may be so. But there is something radically wrong in a situation where:

- A black reporter of several years standing, on quitting his job at *Ilanga*, feels constrained to get up at his farewell party and cry: "God knows, I didn't want to leave this place, this job. But, God also knows, it's been sheer hell working around here. Every day of my life has been like a spiritual death." There were no rebuttals of the reporter's anguished cries.

- Another reporter, working for a white newspaper, is sent off with a white junior to cover a black labor strike. He comes back fuming that he was "used" by his colleague as an interpreter, getting all the facts from the Zulu-speaking strikers whom the white could not understand. And then, when they present their respective stories, the black fellow observes that only the white reporter's byline is used.

No Go Zones

In 1965, I was selected to go to Cape Town to cover South Africa's Parliamentary session for six weeks. I was the third or fourth black journalist to be allowed to set foot within the hallowed precincts of the white man's Parliament. As I understood it, a liberal-minded white opposition member of Parliament had "fought hard" to get the color-conscious Afrikaner legislators to allow at least one black reporter to spend a few weeks in the house of assem-

bly.

The request was grudgingly granted, but not before an elaborate, highly involved, intricate web of conditions had been agreed to. For instance, I had to study carefully a map with the detailed layout plans of the interior and exterior of the Parliamentary buildings. Certain areas were declared "no go zones." I had to use a basement office far from the offices used by the white correspondents.

I was not allowed to work from the press gallery normally used by white reporters. I had to sit in the black section of the public gallery and was not allowed to use the normal press filing facilities—not even the colored messenger services.

Getting from my office to the debating chamber, I had to follow a course—in the elevators and along the corridors—specially charted for me. Great care was taken to see that I did not stray onto the white side of the line.

I resigned as editor of *Ilanga* in 1967 for a brief, unsuccessful business venture. I rejoined *Argus* a short while later and, in 1969, helped establish *The Weekend World's* Durban bureau. I gradually found myself back in the mainstream of *Ilanga* and, in 1973, was reappointed to my old position.

Early this year, I was given full and absolute authority to run the paper. There is no one above me now, only the business manager who operates in his own separate world.

In spite of all the vicissitudes, it has been a heartening experience to see *Ilanga* grow from what was once a despised, gutter rag with a circulation of 10,000 to the respectable institution it is today. It has a weekly circulation of 170,000 and a readership of one million.

How do I account for it? The major factors have been a new, enlightened editorial policy, an increasing awareness of the black political spectrum, and the realization that the black voice,

regardless of what the government may feel or say, is going to become more strident and ultimately decisive in the future of the country.

Although essentially oriented towards the Zulu-speaking sector, *Ilanga* sees its commitments as transcending all ethnic and tribal barriers. It speaks up for the black community as one indivisible whole. It does not believe in separate deals for the urban and the rural black.

Editorially, the paper takes a hard, uncompromising position, especially with regard to the government's repugnant separatist policies and the shameful denial of basic human rights. We do our best to champion the cause of black liberation, not neglecting to point out the obstacles and inherent dangers to be surmounted—black unity, or the lack of it, being one of the major problems.

Freedom To Read

I first came to know about the Nieman program at Harvard 13 years ago, when two black journalists, both former schoolmates of mine, were awarded the fellowships. I remember saying to my friend as I saw him off in 1964, "I'll get to Harvard as a Nieman just like you if it's the last thing I do."

I'm taking a course in African literature and auditing another in the history of black civilizations. The books on our reading lists include some by internationally known black writers from America and Africa. They are the types of books I may never be able to read freely back home. For, chances are they are either banned, censored, or kept in the big, white public libraries where blacks are not allowed.

It's remarkable that I had to come all the way to Harvard to read *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois*, or Palmer's *Slaves of the White God*, or Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, or, for that matter, *The Communist Manifesto*. ■

AN OUNCE OF LOVE?

"An ounce of pure love," the Krugerrand's ads call it.

"A piece of *apartheid*," says the American Committee on Africa.

Here, as in South Africa, the lines are being drawn clearly.

And here, as in South Africa, the media is finding itself in the middle.

"My company doesn't have a foreign policy," CBS Vice President of Program Practices Van Gordon Sauter told the mid-October public meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters in Boston. He was responding to demands from questioners that the networks either pull the ads for the gold coins or provide fairness doctrine time to opponents, who claim that sales of the Krugerrand bolster the South African regime and its *apartheid* policies.

The networks are not the only ones feeling the pressure. On September 27, Doyle Dane Bernbach launched the latest Krugerrand campaign in 25 major U.S. markets with an estimated budget of \$4 million devoted mainly to newspaper ads and 30-second TV spots. The campaign is meant to appeal to the small investor who is worried about inflation, but timid about entering the gold market. The Krugerrand, exactly one troy ounce of South African gold, is designed to make gold owning easy. The campaign to sell it, however, has sparked opposition around the country.

The Krugerrand contains very little "love," its opponents point out. 2,993 South African miners died between 1972 and 1975 bringing the metal to the surface, and 110,169 others suffered serious injuries. Most of the casualties were blacks, who comprise about 90 percent of the industry's work force of some 380,000. They get paid an average of \$124 a month, 22 percent of the average wage for their white counterparts.

In South Africa, moreover, gold and government go together. Gold is the linchpin of the white-dominated economy. Gold earned the country more than \$2.7 billion in 1976—40 percent of its foreign exchange total. Krugerrand demand helps keep the price high.

Boston has been the hub of the most intense anti-Krugerrand activity. On October 13, the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a resolution which condemned the advertising and sale of the coin. Two groups—the Steve Biko Memorial Committee and Action for Black Media—have been actively pressuring the Boston media for equal time to state their case. Letters and broadcast editorials on the subject have received prominent play since September.

Several days after the October NAB meeting, demonstrators picketed WBZ-TV, the NBC affiliate in Boston. WBZ was also presented with a petition, signed by nearly one-third of its employees, condemning the station for airing the ads. Under this pressure, the station issued a statement that said, in part, "By airing this advertising, WBZ is not in any way taking a stand in favor of the political or social policies of the

government of South Africa."

The *Boston Globe* also continued to run the ads. On October 25, the paper editorialized that, "If the *Globe* pursued its long-felt sympathies in this case, we would drop the South African government's ads . . . But to do that would be to pursue the same course of censorship and repression that we condemn in South Africa."

Anti-Krugerrand forces have been hard at work elsewhere. The city councils of San Antonio, Dayton, Denver, and Chicago have all passed resolutions condemning the sale of the Krugerrand within the last year. The Chicago resolution specifically urged "the print and electronic media based in Chicago to reconsider their policy to carry advertisements for the sale of the Krugerrand." The *Chicago Tribune*, the

Sun-Times, and the *Daily News* continued to run the ads, and advertising spokesmen at all three papers pleaded ignorance of the council action.

The first major breakthrough for opponents of the ads came on October 28 when, in response to community pressure, two network television affiliates in New York—WNBC and WCBS—announced they were suspending the commercials. Several days later, WABC followed suit. Said Ken McQueen, vice president and general manager of WABC in New York, "I felt that, all things considered, at this point in time, it might be upsetting to a large segment of our viewing audience" to run the ads.

Meanwhile, that same week, Doyle Dane made a decision to cancel its entire media schedule in Boston and New York. But, within days, the agency had partially reversed itself: the print schedules remain intact.

The *Boston Globe* reported that the Doyle Dane cancellation arrived too late to stop the campaign's fifth insertion. The cancellation of the cancellation arrived just in time to allow the sixth to proceed on schedule days later.

Jerry Gast of Rubenstein, Wolfson, which handles publicity for Intergold, the Krugerrand marketing organization, isn't worried about all the turmoil, however. "I think Krugerrand sales are governed by people's interest in owning gold, rather than by political developments. They do or do not want to own gold, regardless . . ."

Just to be on the safe side, however, the South African gold industry recently established the Gold Information Center.

Only months old, the center has already taken out full-page ads in *The New York Times Magazine* and *Time* headlined, "You'll understand why gold is so precious when you know how little exists." Nowhere in the ads is the center identified as South African. But it is. The same folks who brought you Krugerrand—the gold industry of South Africa, Doyle Dane, and Rubenstein, Wolfson—are at work again.

—Barbara Demick



The Germans and Swiss are buying
some 45,000 Krugerrands a week.
Maybe they know something you don't.

The Krugerrand
The world's best way into a gold

MEDIA MYOPIA

U.S. Press Coverage Distorts Economic Issues, Black Views

Is Soweto a "suburb" of Johannesburg?

BY DANIEL SCHECHTER

Like predators on the veld, journalists are quick to smell blood—and they smell it these days in South Africa. As the increasingly repressive white minority cracks down on the increasingly frustrated black majority, Western reporters are arriving almost daily in Johannesburg. In recent months, all three U.S. television networks have opened bureaus in the troubled country. Media stars like Walter Cronkite and Harry Reasoner have added Soweto and Pretoria to their international itineraries.

South Africa provides the type of neat, cut-and-dried story that American journalists love: four million whites, led by a neo-fascist Afrikaner government, exploiting and degrading 18 million blacks couped up in Bantustans and ghettos. Out of this sorry equation comes all the stuff of conventional news: political drama, confrontation, violence.

Predictably, that's how most of the media have covered the story. With a few exceptions—*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor* among them—the complexities of South Africa's conflict have escaped or been ignored by the media.

"The South African story has come down the tubes so

Daniel Schechter is on leave as the News Director/Dissector of WBCN-FM in Boston to spend the year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. He was a founder of the Africa Research Group, and has written about African affairs.

fast," says Tim Leland, a *Boston Globe* editor who has reported from South Africa, "that the American public has no background information on it. The press, by and large, has not covered it with any sophistication."

Jim Hoagland of *The Washington Post*, who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1971 for his reporting from South Africa, agrees with Leland's assessment. He recalls that during Vice President Mondale's trip to Vienna last spring for talks with South African Prime Minister John Vorster, "Most of the reporters on the plane didn't have a basic understanding of the policy issues or choices. Most of the time they asked questions for purposes of getting a lead, rather than for eliciting information that they could put into context."

This lack of sophistication and understanding has led to a number of serious omissions in U.S. press coverage of South Africa. These omissions fall into four categories and give rise to the charge that crucial aspects of the story are being distorted.

1. The Reporting On Apartheid

Apartheid is more than just a perverse system of racial discrimination—although it is that with a vengeance. Despite surface similarities, it is not a South African version of the racial segregation that was practiced for years in the American South. Invariably, correspondents identify apartheid as South Africa's "system of racial separation or segregation," and focus on its

most visible practices of racial differentiation and domination. This conveys a simplistic image which obscures an understanding of some of the worst features of apartheid.

At the center, apartheid is an organized and highly structured method of controlling and exploiting black labor. Most American journalists, by and large, have yet to discover and fully report the economic underpinnings of apartheid.

South Africa runs on cheap black labor. More than 200 apartheid laws exist to keep it that way. "These laws, and the system of migrant labor which they are designed to regulate, have long provided the foundation for South Africa's industrial and agricultural development," explains Andrew Silk in an article he wrote for *The Nation* this fall after spending ten months in South Africa. Silk's pieces were among the few to have appeared in the American press that discussed apartheid as an economic system.

By regulating movement and restricting the number of Africans who can live near white areas, the National Party government attempted to monitor tightly and regulate a hideously underpaid and captive work force. Virtually an entire population was turned into a migrant labor force. An additional series of anti-union laws prevent Africans from organizing to improve their working conditions. Unemployment—now estimated at 40 percent of the black South African population—is disguised by shunting workers off to rural "homelands." This is the heart of the "separate development policy," which at present assigns 13 percent of the worst land in the Republic to 87 percent of the population.

A few reporters, like Silk, have tried to explain this complex system of domination. But most focus instead on the Jim Crow surface manifestations of apartheid. "It may be because many journalists just don't understand economics,"

guesses Silk. "After all, the race problem is also a class problem. And because most American journalists are not well versed in looking at class issues, it's difficult for them to see it. For most of them, the stress has been on covering day-to-day events. They don't understand that a lot of the fervor in South Africa is because of the discontent of a working class."

"Protection of white economic privilege has become perhaps the main product of apartheid," writes Jim Hoagland of *The Washington Post*. Hoagland agrees that this central characteristic of apartheid tends to get lost in the imagery of racist whites against segregated blacks. "The whole economic story," he says, "has not been done well."

A recent overview of apartheid in *The New York Times* by John Darnton, for example, began with an anecdote about the first black woman to win a multiracial beauty contest. The woman was not allowed to stay at the resort hotel at which she had won a vacation. Not until the ninth paragraph of the piece did Darnton explain that it was the exploitation of black labor that led to apartheid laws. He spent three paragraphs discussing these laws, but his emphasis was on how poorly these laws work and how hard they are to enforce. Darnton's piece touched many of the right bases, but it failed to convey the economic foundations of apartheid.

2. The American Economic And Political Role

Not only have American reporters had problems untangling and explaining the complexities of the South African economic system, they have also failed to grasp the crucial U.S. economic relationship with South Africa.

In recent years, the United States and South Africa have become important trading partners. The U.S. imported

Reininger/Contact



Holding up the South African economy: Workers in the Vaal Reef gold mine.

nearly a billion dollars of South African exports in 1976, while South Africa imported \$1.85 billion worth of American products. Moreover, investments by more than 350 U.S. companies have nearly doubled over the last ten years to nearly \$1.7 billion. U.S. banks have an estimated \$2 billion in loans outstanding to the South African government. In addition, the U.S. has an important political and economic stake in safeguarding Britain's \$7 billion economic investment in South Africa.

While total U.S. economic involvement amounts to only one percent of total U.S. corporate assets abroad, the tie to South Africa is hardly an insignificant one. Yet, the American press has been reluctant to explore these ties or to explain U.S. policy as an outgrowth of this economic relationship.

Opponents of *apartheid* believe that Western economic involvement helps prop up the South African regime, while enabling multinational corporations to prosper. (In 1974, the return on investment in South Africa was 19.1 percent, compared to world average of 11 percent.) For years, at the United Nations and in other forums, African states and black South African

organizations have crusaded for economic sanctions against South Africa. They've argued against the view promulgated by the Western powers that foreign investment will ultimately erode *apartheid* and transform South Africa.

Most press coverage of the economic sanctions debate reflects the U.S. government's view that such sanctions would be counterproductive. Few newspapers or newsmagazines gave the pro-sanctions African perspective any substantive hearing.

In its report on the U.N. debate in October, *Time* magazine wrote extensively about the U.S. vote in favor of a mandatory arms embargo, but devoted only one line to the resolution calling for economic sanctions which had been vetoed by the U.S., France, and Great Britain. Such sanctions were dismissed categorically by *Time* as a "step that would have caused real damage not only to South Africa but also to the Western powers and many smaller nations that trade with it." The *Time* article quoted South African government sources and a prominent white liberal—but no Africans. One week earlier, *Time* articulated its thinking on sanctions in a piece headlined

"Embargoes May Sting, But They Don't Really Hurt."

Newsweek's coverage was similar, quoting unnamed economists to the effect that South Africa could withstand economic sanctions. In its October 3 edition, *Newsweek* stated that a world embargo on arms to South Africa was already in effect when, in fact, only a U.N. resolution for a voluntary ban had been passed.

John Burns of *The New York Times* was one of the few journalists to seek out and report African views—those of a worker in Johannesburg who would be hurt by sanctions but who favored them anyway, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the moderate leader of South Africa's 5.8 million Zulus, who has changed his position and now favors sanctions, as does virtually every other black South African leader. But even Burns's background of November 6 cited only one reason for sanctions, and then enumerated seven against. His sources were "many economists" and unnamed "white liberals."

One of the few mildly dissenting views in an American newspaper appeared in the last paragraph of reporter David Ottaway's news analysis in *The Washington Post* of October 28.

In an article devoted to explaining why an arms embargo was too late, he noted that, "More effective measures against South Africa would be such things as an embargo on loans and other economic steps. The [South African] economy is already in a recession and facing an 11 percent inflation rate, so this sector is more vulnerable than the country's military establishment." On the same day, the *Post* carried a column by Stephen S. Rosenfeld, writing from Johannesburg. Rosenfeld favorably quoted the views of white industrialist Harry Oppenheimer, who argued that the U.S. should pressure South Africa with understanding. Rosenfeld also criticized the one man, one vote standard as "alien to the Afrikaners and, I believe, to many South African blacks." No South African blacks were cited.

Few papers explored what other economic options, short of a total U.S. embargo, might be employed to exercise leverage on the South African government. In mid-November, the Carter administration hinted that it was considering other outside economic pressure. But such measures—including a possible cutoff of Export-Import Bank credit, or limits on future investments—were hardly discussed in the press. It seems as though the media was waiting for the government to act so that it might react.

The issue of economic sanctions only began to receive publicity after President Carter was reported considering supporting them, says Mzonke Xuzza, a staff member of South Africa's Pan African Congress (PAC) office at the United Nations. "It is as if the whole issue had to be made legitimate by white leaders before the press will seriously discuss our demands. For months, we have been trying to get our position on this out to the press, but they refused to print it. Yet, after Carter's press conference which raised this issue, we saw the television crews

come crawling around us, with their people asking if we didn't think this was a positive step."

Reed Kramer, who edits *Africa News*, an alternative news service published in Durham, North Carolina, believes that "sanctions are considered a non-issue in the press because it is considered an unrealistic demand." Kramer agrees that there is not much press coverage about the strategic role American investment plays in such key economic sectors as oil, computers, electronics, auto, rubber, and communications. "What coverage there is," he says, "usually focuses on employment practices of U.S. companies, rather than on how important U.S. investment, trade, and bank loans are to the South African economy."

"The British press, which is consistently more informative about South Africa than the American press, is also disarmingly frank about the role that self-interest plays in its rejection of sanctions," says Reverend Kenneth Carstens, a white South African exile who directs the North American branch of the International Defense and Aid Fund. "But your government tends to camouflage the significance of your trade and investment, and the press reflects this."

Jennifer Davis, research director of the American Committee on Africa, echoes this view. "I find press people very uncritical of government sources," she says. "They seldom consult groups like ours, perhaps because the conclusions of our studies challenge U.S. government policy and the impact of the corporations."

Davis was critical of the questioning of President Carter during his October 27 press conference, when he announced U.S. support for a U.N. arms embargo. "The reporters didn't even know what to ask," she says, "and the questions they did ask showed unfamiliarity with the issue."

During the press conference, ABC's Anne Compton asked Carter if he were worried about dictating domestic policy to South Africa. In his response, Carter denied that the U.S. was meddling, and then made a revealing statement about the need for the U.S. "to decide when we should and should not invest in another country." But Carter's opening provoked no follow-up questions on how the government could or might regulate investment.

A few newspapers have carried informative reports on U.S. economic involvement in South Africa. The *Christian Science Monitor*, whose South African reporting frequently outclasses its competitors, carried a well-researched report by Harry Ellis the day after Carter's October 27 press conference.

Ellis's article disclosed that American steel and chemical industries are dependent on South African chromite ore

and other metals. The paper also suggested that U.S. exports to South Africa have grown so rapidly that 50,000 jobs could be affected if trade were cut off.

One story conspicuous by its absence from American papers was covered by the *Rand Daily Mail*. In late September, South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster was given a standing ovation by 600 guests at a dinner of the American Businessmen's Luncheon Club in Johannesburg. The speech that drew so much applause was a blistering attack on U.S. "meddling" in South Africa.

3. Reporting Black South Africa

The American press has consistently slighted the black resistance movement in South Africa. "I don't think they want to show that there is a struggle going on," says Thami Mlabiso, the U.N. representa-

POLISHING APARTHEID'S IMAGE

No self-respecting nation these days can afford to do without a Washington lobbyist and a Madison Avenue public relations firm. South Africa is no exception. It has been playing the game since at least 1963, when it paid \$250,000 to the Hamilton Wright organization to produce documentary films, TV shorts, news articles, and photographs promoting South Africa.

As support for the South African regime has waned in recent years, the government has been spending more and more money to shore up its image abroad. Last year, the South African government spent \$2 million in the U.S. on public relations activity, exclusive of advertising and lobbying. About half the money went to the Information Service of South Africa, the government's official information agency in the U.S. Its 11 agents provide background information for journalists, meet with editors and broadcasters, and write occasional feature stories.

The more visible side of South African public relations in this country is handled by Sydney Baron & Company, a New York public relations agency which once had General Raphael Trujillo as a client, and now handles such benign accounts as Alcoa and Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Greater New York. In March 1976, Sydney Baron signed a \$365,000 contract with Dr. E. M. Rhoodie, South Africa's Secretary of Information. Baron agreed to prepare press releases, reports, and films for the American media, promote tourism and industry in South Africa, and report on political developments in the United States. In 1977, the contract was increased to \$650,000. To head a team of ten public relations agents working on the South Africa account, Baron hired

Andrew Hatcher, formerly President Kennedy's assistant press secretary. Hatcher is black.

In addition to supervising activities under the contract, Hatcher arranged trips to South Africa for American journalists and tried to establish contact between American blacks and South African whites. He managed to bring together important black business executives in the Harlem-based "100 Black Men" organization with Helen Suzman, the white South African member of the Progressive Party. In October 1976, he led a junket of 14 Americans to the Transkei to observe ceremonies celebrating the territory's "independence" from South Africa. Shortly thereafter, he hosted *Newsday's* Les Payne, a black reporter. Payne says he "went on the official gold mine tour with Hatcher," and then "I shook that stuff." His 11-part series on the country was critical of the government. Hatcher resigned in October from the Sydney Baron agency citing "intense peer pressure."

"I'm not about to apologize for representing South Africa," Baron says. "We do not regard the government of South Africa as a 'repressive regime.'... The progress made by the government of South Africa in the areas of human rights and equal economic opportunities—during the past five years—has been nothing less than spectacular."

Are there foreign powers Baron would not represent? "Yasir Arafat could not pay me \$100 million a year to represent him," he says.

"I think we're making a contribution to [South Africa] and to the majority there," Baron says. "We're making a contribution towards the efforts for human rights."

—Tom Mechling

McGOFF: MARCHING TO PRETORIA'S TUNE

When the South African government cracked down on its opposition in October, the American press was united in its outrage at the Vorster regime—with one significant exception. John McGoff, publisher of the Panax and Global newspaper chains, offered as his statement on South Africa a guest editorial by J. van Zyl Alberts, editor of the pro-government South African newsweekly, *To The Point*. Alberts quoted anti-government comments that had appeared in South African papers to show that, "A free press still exists in the nation."

"As for the banning of 18 organizations," Alberts wrote, "it is not a question of free speech, but whether the government considers that they threaten law and order by their activities."

Alberts's piece in the Panax papers was not the first time that publisher McGoff has come to the defense of the white minority government of South Africa. In the pages of his more than 50 daily and weekly newspapers, through his London-based UPITN television news, and in Congressional testimony, the 53-year-old McGoff serves as informal ambassador and advocate for the beleaguered Afrikaner regime.

"South Africa needs to tell its story, and through something like UPITN we can do it," he told *To The Point* last year, on the inauguration of South Africa's first television network. McGoff's Global Communications owns 50 percent of UPITN. The other half is divided between UPI and Britain's Independent Television News. UPITN provides television news film to stations in 66 countries, including ABC and NBC in the U.S.

In August, Panax writers Tom Ochiltree and Ron Cordray prepared a four-part series on "Southern Africa in Crisis." "The private enterprise system in Southern Africa could be replaced by chaotic Marxism, as already has happened in much of black Africa," the two writers warned.

"In Pretoria's view," they explained, "the Carter administration has nullified the cautious Ford-Kissinger policy toward South Africa and Rhodesia and replaced it with a sort of revivalist 'born again' call for rapid and sweeping black control of the two countries."

Ochiltree and Cordray also sounded a warning against the campaign by "self-described 'liberal elements' among American clergymen, in the universities, and at the leftward end of the Democratic Party...to shut off any further American private investment in South Africa and get existing American firms removed."

Another of McGoff's regular contributors, Lester Kinsolving, an Episcopal minister, wrote several columns defending continued corporate investment in South Africa. He later admitted to receiving \$2500 in stock and expenses from the law firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards—registered agents for the South African government—to attend 13 stockholders' meetings in 1975 and 1976. At the meetings, Kinsolving spoke out against church-supported resolutions calling for the withdrawal of corporations from South Africa.

McGoff's emphasis on Africa seems curious, given the readership of his newspapers. Robert N. Skuggen, the former editor of Michigan's *Marquette Mining Journal*, a Panax paper, says, "I was a little bit upset because we were constantly getting things on South Africa, and none of my readers were really interested." According to Skuggen, McGoff

© Afri-Comics (Pty) Ltd. 1976



Mighty Man, the South African version of Superman, was printed by Xanap (that's Panax backward), a McGoff subsidiary in South Africa. Of the law-and-order theme of the comic book, cartoonist Joe Orlando (better known for Superman) says, "There were certain guidelines. Like not screwing around with the government." Publication was suspended after the 1976 Soweto uprising, when newsstands carrying the comic were burned.

insisted that, "It was important to get out the truth, and the truth was that the white minority government was right."

In September 1976, McGoff appeared before Senator Dick Clark's Subcommittee on African Affairs and testified in favor of continued corporate investment in South Africa. His own byline also appeared on a piece that ran in Panax entitled, "African Blacks Better Off In South Africa."

McGoff is not a disinterested observer of the South African scene. In 1975, after failing in an effort to take over the troubled *Washington Star*, he joined with Afrikaner fertilizer magnate Louis Luyt and German publisher Axel Springer in an abortive effort to purchase the English-language South African Associated Newspapers chain, which owns the *Rand Daily Mail*, a frequent government critic. McGoff said at the time that he was making the bid for "both business and political reasons." The publisher also owns a printing company in South Africa, which prints some 50 periodicals. And he is partners with Minister of Interior Dr. Connie Mulder in a holiday game ranch in the province of Transvaal.

—Steve Weissman

tive of South Africa's African National Congress, the country's oldest liberation movement. "The uprising of our people has been portrayed as a riot, or a series of riots. This has presented a distorted picture of the whole black struggle."

A survey of some press coverage during the Soweto rebellion in June 1976 bears out this charge. In its front-page headline and lead paragraph on June 17, 1976, the day after the township erupted, *The New York Times* called the protests against the compulsory teaching of the Afrikaans language in African schools a "race-riot." A day later, a *Times* editorial spoke of "outbursts of racial hatred just ten miles from Johannesburg."

Newsweek reported that, "In the days that followed, black students and many adults roamed through the streets, burning buildings, wrecking buses, and trying to find and kill whites." Curiously, a backgrounder on Soweto, written by John Burns and carried by the *Times* on June 17, indicated that white Americans received a friendlier reception in Soweto than in New York's Harlem.

Time magazine, like many newspapers, featured more information from government sources than from blacks in its "riot" reports. In trying to explain who initiated the violence, the newsmagazine noted that police officials insisted that they fired in self-defense, while some witnesses (in this case black reporters) claimed that police had provoked the conflict.

"Exactly how and why a student protest became a killer riot may not be known until the conclusion of an elaborate inquiry that will be carried out by Justus Petrus Cille, Judge President of the Transvaal," intoned *Time*, not bothering to note that blacks scoffed at an investigation headed up by a pro-apartheid Afrikaner.

As for black viewpoints on the Soweto events, few publications knew where to turn. *Newsweek* featured an

interview with the aging, white, liberal writer, Alan Paton, hardly a spokesman for the new generation of militant blacks.

Michael Kaufman of *The New York Times* could find no spokesman at all by June 24, complaining that there were no black South African groups to articulate "the feelings and motives of mobs and looters.... There are no counterparts to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or the Congress of Racial Equality. There are no Malcolm X's or Sonny Carsons or James Baldwins who can publicly speak for the street people." Kaufman, apparently, was not able to locate student leaders who were communicating quite well with their own people.

Four days later, Kaufman visited Soweto to interview witnesses who contradicted the thrust of many earlier reports by suggesting that African violence had had an organized political character and was directed largely against government buildings, banks, and other symbols of the apartheid system. No residents expressed "get whitey" attitudes.

The Washington Post's Jim Hoagland, whose in-depth pieces in the late fall of 1976 did much to explain the dynamics of the Soweto uprising, agrees that the press did an inadequate job covering Soweto. "When I arrived in late October, I realized that it had been an essentially unreported story. Part of the problem was vocabulary. It may not be accurate to call what happened riots. That in itself conveys a false impression. I am not criticizing people on day one or day two—you know, there were physical problems, and access to Soweto was blocked. But there was no follow-up. I asked wire-service people if they had ever gone into Soweto, but they hadn't." Hoagland also noted that no American newspapers, to his knowledge, employed black stringers who might have had greater access to the townships.

WHERE TO FIND IT

A BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carlson, Joel, *No Neutral Ground*, Crowell, 1973. Particularly good on the subject of political prisoners.

Davidson, Basil, J. Slovo, A.R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*, Penguin Books, 1976. Three sharp discussions of political struggles in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the former Portuguese colonies.

Desmond, Cosmas, *The Discarded People: An Account of the Settlement in South Africa*, Penguin, 1971. A description of life in the "homelands" by a Franciscan priest who was banned.

El-Khanna, Mohamed A. and B. Cohen (eds.), *The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa, National Security Memorandum 39*, Lawrence Hill and Co., 1976. For information about one of the crucial documents in American-Southern Africa relations.

Hepple, Alex, *Press Under Apartheid*, International Defense and Aid Fund, 1974. A 66-page pamphlet with basic information about the relationship of the press and government.

Johnson, R.W., *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* Macmillan, 1977. An account of the realpolitik of South African survival. Particularly useful for its discussion of the role of gold.

Mandela, Nelson, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, Basic Books, 1965. Personal testimony by one of the key black leaders of the 1960s.

Potter, Elaine, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers*, Rowman and Littlefield, 1975. A study of the history, economics, readership, and politics of the press.

Rhodie, Nic (ed.), *South African Dialogue*, The Westminster Press, 1972. South Africans on both sides of the political fence discuss their positions at length.

Rogers, Barbara, *White Wealth and Black Poverty: American Investments in Southern Africa*, Greenwood Press, 1976. The definitive, and a readable, study.

South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, University of California Press. A yearly survey of developments from on the scene.

Walshe, Peter, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress*, University of California Press, 1973. An in-depth account of one of the two important black liberation movements.

ORGANIZATIONS, PERIODICALS, RESOURCES

African National Congress, 28 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. (212) 532-7940. A liberation movement.

Africa News, Box 3851, Durham, N.C. 27702. (919) 286-3910. Produces a weekly news digest and audio feed.

African Bibliographic Center, Suite 901, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington D. C. 20036. (202) 223-1392. Publishes *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*; provides daily audio feed.

African Studies Association, 218 Schiffman Humanities Center, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02154. (617) 899-3079. Largest academic organization on Africa; publishes *Issue*, a quarterly journal.

American Committee on Africa, 305 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. (212) 838-5030. A long-established activist group.

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, 875 West End Ave., Apt. 14E, New York, N.Y. 10025. (212) 222-6373. One of the two liberation organizations.

Republic of South Africa Information Service, 425 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. (212) 838-1700. Has a library and makes available a range of materials.

Southern Africa Committee, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010. (212) 741-3480. Publishes *Southern Africa*, a useful source of data about political developments.

United Nations Center Against Apartheid, United Nations, N.Y. (212) 754-1234. Documentation on life and politics in South Africa.

"I remember when the police riots first rocked Soweto," recalls *Africa News's* Tami Holzman. "Robin Wright of CBS had her cameras behind the police lines, reporting on wisps of smoke rising above Soweto. We had contacts in the township and were able to telephone people directly to get their eyewitness accounts. Other news outlets could have done the same thing, but they tend to have more contacts among whites than among the country's black people."

Holzman also criticized the media for referring to Soweto, the largest urban concentration of blacks in all of Africa, as a "suburb of Johannesburg."

"You can hardly call it a suburb," agrees James Thomson, curator of Harvard's Nieman Foundation and a one-time South African correspondent. "It's much more like a concentration camp or an Indian reservation. The images of South Africa, as conveyed to an American audience in 'language they can understand,' can be obscenely inaccurate."

4. The Liberation Movements

South Africa's liberation struggle did not start or end with the Soweto uprising or with the death of Steve Biko. A bitter fight against white domination has been underway for many years.

In 1960, two of the country's principal black organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), were banned, their leaders arrested, and many of their most militant members driven into exile. These two movements are now involved in organizing underground actions against the *apartheid* system. Both groups train guerrillas and claim credit for an escalating series of skirmishes, acts of sabotage, and guerrilla attacks inside South Africa. These actions have led to a series of trials throughout the country, few of which have been reported on.

Both movements maintain representatives at the U.N. and send delegates to third-world conferences. They issue publications and release position papers on a variety of South African questions. For some reason, perhaps because their approach is thought to be too radical, their political perspective is seldom acknowledged in the American press.

This failure to report on black liberation movements might be rooted in the structure of contacts that American correspondents have in South Africa. Most U.S. journalists are middle-class whites with liberal sympathies who tend to seek out their counterparts in South Africa. Thus, a few white, South African liberals, who are relatively ineffectual politically in their own country, often receive inordinate attention in the American press. Until recently, only a handful of blacks were part of this elite group, and usually they were people who were considered "moderates."

"Take Steve Biko," says the American Committee on Africa's Jennifer Davis. "They made a fuss about him when he was dead, but barely covered what he actually stood for when he was alive. Perhaps because he wasn't, in fact, 'moderate' enough in their terms."

If the press doesn't do a satisfactory job of covering black South Africa, its stance toward the country's white minority is schizophrenic. Despite a clearly pervasive anti-*apartheid* bias, the dictates of professional neutrality often appear to lead to reports which equate the Afrikaner position with majority claims.

One recent example of this was an October 24 broadcast by ABC's Harry Reasoner from a white South African farm. Reasoner interviewed an Afrikaner who was pictured as "honestly paternalistic" and quite sophisticated (he "quotes Shakespeare"). Of the Afrikaner, who employs 13 black men, Reasoner said, "He would say his men are happy

and he's probably right."

This type of all-too-common reporting reinforces the notion that the South African situation can be boiled down to a tragic clash of competing nationalisms, each with its own legitimate claims.

"If you are able to write a story which 'balances' these viewpoints, you miss the point," says Robert Maynard, formerly the only black national correspondent for *The Washington Post*. "And a lot of journalists are missing the point."

Improving Press Coverage

How can press coverage of South Africa be improved?

1. *Better briefings for correspondents.* "I spent a year studying at Columbia University before I went to South Africa," says the *Post's* Jim Hoagland. "It is essential that reporters do more reading."

2. *More utilization of South African journalists and stringers.* The *Boston Globe* maintains an exchange program with Johannesburg's *Rand Daily Mail*, which suggests the possibility of more collaboration between American newspapers and South African or British journalists, whose reporting is often more in touch with black aspirations.

3. *More interaction with the black press in South Africa.* Harvard's Nieman Foundation has a long history of sponsoring visits by South African journalists, although it was only in recent years that blacks became fellows. Two great South African writers, Lewis Nkosi and the late Nat Nakasa, were among them. Percy Qoboza is the most prominent South African Nieman alumnus. The United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program has financed other black reporters as interns on American papers. Perhaps when black Africans are working for American newspapers they can have a role in coverage.

4. *Consulting specialized sources and news services.* Media

outlets need to be made more aware of specialized African publications and should consider subscribing to *Africa News*, a professionally written, alternative news service in Durham, North Carolina. The research departments of such institutions as the American Committee on Africa, which has a wide range of academic resources and contacts in the African diplomatic community, should be consulted more regularly. Paul Irish, ACOA's Associate Director, says that the only media outlets which regularly tap the group's expertise are the alternative press, college papers, and some broadcast outlets such as Black Mutual Network News.

5. *A team approach to coverage.* Newspapers often don't effectively coordinate their stateside coverage on a particular issue with the work of their foreign correspondent. As a result, coverage often lacks cohesion. Any serious investigative reporting about U.S. corporations in South Africa, for example, would require interviews and research in both South Africa and the United States.

6. *Recognizing the liberation movements.* The ANC and PAC are often major sources of information about underground and overground activity in South Africa. It's about time the U.S. press recognized their existence.

Implementing these six suggestions will hardly transform the nature of the American press, but it might help some news outlets improve their deeply flawed coverage of the escalating crisis in Southern Africa.

Writing in this magazine at the end of the Vietnam war, Frances Fitzgerald said, "After 15 years of reporting the war in Indochina, the news organizations appear to have learned almost nothing, and their policies to have changed rather less than Henry Kissinger's." Will a similarly harsh indictment be necessary in the aftermath of the war in South Africa that seems on its way? ■

TUNING IN TROUBLE AT ARBITRON

Radio Raters Plagued By Blackout, Diary Thefts, And Phony Contests

Are black stations getting the right numbers?

BY DAVID M. RUBIN

Suppose you are the general manager of an FM rock station in New York. It is July 13, 1977, and tomorrow is the first day of Arbitron's summer ratings period. Depending on the numbers you pull, ad agencies will either buy time on your station or ignore you. Your fate is in the hands of executives at Arbitron, who have decided how to measure your audience.

Suddenly the lights at your studio flicker and die, and you learn that Con Ed is no longer delivering electric power to the metropolitan area. During the 16 hours your station is off the air, your audience has drifted to the all-news stations which maintain emergency power facilities. You call Arbitron and ask what they intend to do with the July 14 numbers. Surely they won't include them in the book, will they?

Or perhaps you are the general manager of a black-oriented station in Chicago. Arbitron gathers its information from individuals who are asked to fill out a daily listening diary. You know that some of your audience has difficulty filling out diaries. Others never get the diaries at all because Arbitron draws its survey sample from the telephone directory, thereby excluding those in your audience who can't afford a phone. You are convinced that Arbitron's research methods are depressing your ratings. You call Arbitron and ask what they intend to do about their discriminatory sampling technique.

Pacifying unhappy clients is nothing new for Arbitron. Anyone not rated number one in a market is likely to complain about something, if only to save face. But the volume and bitterness of the complaints have increased enormously in the past three years, as Arbitron has established itself as the *only* radio ratings service in the country that counts. It has left its chief competitor, Pulse, far behind. Its list of client stations has grown to 912 (from 475 in 1970), and its ratings books are read like the Bible by most advertising agencies.

As Arbitron, a subsidiary of Control Data Corporation, has tightened its grip on the radio industry, nervous clients, without any place to turn, have begun to question the company's research methods, rate structure, and sampling technique for blacks and other minorities. Many complain of the arrogance of Arbitron's "service" staff, which can take a week to answer a simple query. Reports of pilfered diaries and unethical contests designed to distort ratings have also undermined client confidence.

The way Arbitron handled the New York City blackout is typical of what many in the radio business see as the arrogance of monopoly and the company's lack of communication with its clients. In line with its usual policy, the company issued its sum-

mer report on August 31. The report included the July 14 figures. Clients had been notified by Mailgram and by follow-up letter that this would be the only set of ratings for the period. But under pressure from nearly a score of FM stations that had been knocked off the air, the company reconsidered its position and issued a second report on September 17. This book substituted a random day for the skewed blackout figures. At first, the second book was not sent to advertising agencies. Then, on October 4, it was. But Arbitron never made it clear which was the "real" book.

Throughout the fiasco, station managers and their research analysts did not know what to expect. Kim Reis, marketing director of WPLJ-FM, who complained about the unfairness of the first book, and whose station rated higher in the second, says she was "caught by surprise when the second book came out. I didn't know they were going to do a whole second book." Also surprised was Rick Devlin, station manager of WOR-AM. Officials at WCBS-AM, the all-news station, were reportedly unhappy with the second book.

"There isn't anyone happy with Arbitron's service," says Jackie Grudman, an analyst for WABC-AM, the top-rated station in the New York market. "The list of complaints is so long I don't know where to begin." Relations are bad enough that industry leaders are thinking seriously of starting an industry-controlled ratings service to compete with Arbitron. While such a service exists in Canada and Britain, it would be a first in the United States.

In fairness to Arbitron, critics like Miles David, president of the Radio Advertising Bureau (which is pushing industry-controlled ratings), note how difficult it is to measure radio audiences. Television, by comparison, is child's play: no out-of-home listening to measure; only three or four stations in a market; strong station and program identities so that people can remember what they've tuned in; and plenty of money for research. With one or two dozen radio stations in a market, each individual in the sample can have a considerable impact on the ratings. As one expert notes, with sample sizes of 2-4,000, "statistical error can move radio stations around in the top ten so that it *appears* they are showing gains or losses when in fact they are not."

Since there is much less money available for radio than for television ratings, Arbitron uses a relatively inexpensive data-gathering technique based on a personal diary mailed to each home in the sample. The sample is drawn from telephone books in each of the 160 or so markets surveyed. (Most markets are tested only once or twice a year. As a result, each radio book that Arbitron puts out takes on grave significance for a station manager who may have to sell ads for an entire year on the basis of

David M. Rubin is an associate editor of MORE.

Illustration by Steven Guarnaccia



one book. Even smaller television markets are tested at least quarterly.)

The diary method presents numerous problems, each of which Arbitron has responded to on an *ad hoc* basis. Its current methodology now has so many twists and turns it can only be described as Byzantine. For example, the company discovered that certain groups, principally blacks and young adults, would not fill out diaries without compensation. So the company decided to offer anywhere from 25¢ to \$2 to keep a diary for a week. Arbitron also discovered that many people, because they are functionally illiterate, are incapable of keeping accurate diaries. So, in 33 markets, according to Arbitron spokeswoman Connie Anthes, the company now calls these individuals each day and fills in their diaries for them from information solicited over the phone. Spanish-speaking listeners provide yet another problem, which Arbitron resolved by printing diaries in Spanish.

Arbitron has been further compromised by the scheming of frantic station managers whose jobs depend on ratings. In Phoenix last winter, station KUPD introduced a money giveaway contest to coincide with the start of a three-week rating period. Listeners were told to keep track of their listening time on checkbooks, notepads, or diaries. Prize money would be awarded to those who had written down KUPD most often. The contest's creator, Jay Stone, insists that it was designed "to promote call-letter retention," and it did raise the station's audience rating by more than 50 percent. But the station's competitors feared that listeners were noting exorbitant, and false, listening time in their Arbitron diaries in hopes of collecting from KUPD. To counter this, rival station KRIZ started a similar contest. In

April, the competition spread to the Denver market, where Stone was imported to design a similar contest for station KKKX.

Complaints from other Denver stations finally forced Arbitron to take a stand. (As a private company, Arbitron is, for legal reasons, reluctant to discipline stations or tell them how to run their businesses. The stations, after all, pay for the ratings books.) On May 20, Arbitron President Ted Shaker announced that stations engaging in "diary distortion," which encourages listeners to make false entries in diaries, would be dropped from the ratings book. Normal "hypoing" of ratings by scheduling unusual or superior programming during a ratings period so as to produce an *actual* increase in listenership would be tolerated (although Arbitron would continue to note such hypoing in the front of the ratings book). The company received some support from the FCC for its stand when the commission said, on June 24, that both hypoing and diary distortion "raise questions as to whether a licensee that engages in them is qualified to remain a licensee."

As yet, according to Arbitron's Anthes, no station has been dropped from a book for diary distortion. The first time it happens, the banned station might well go to court to test Arbitron's action, given that the company has no real proof that the "checkbook" contests distort the diaries. In truth, so long as ratings are the prime measure of a station's performance, there is little Arbitron can do to force them to behave normally.

A more sinister case of diary distortion is nearing trial in Memphis. George Klein, a former program director of WHBQ, was indicted in February for stealing seven Arbitron diaries from the U.S. Mail with the help of an accomplice who worked for the

Postal Service. Klein allegedly filled them out to boost WHBQ's ratings. The pair face up to 20 years in prison.

In the Memphis sample of 2,570 listeners, just seven phony diaries managed to lift WHBQ's ratings in several categories, showing how vulnerable to error the Arbitron system actually is. Anthes says the alleged diary theft "is a first" for Arbitron, but there has also been an attempt in Baltimore to sell pilfered diaries. Arbitron was tipped off and stopped it before a deal could be made. The company has also been forced to throw out diaries in another market when it discovered that Spanish-speaking interviewers had been bribed to distort the data.

While Arbitron has been putting out these brushfires which threaten the integrity of its numbers, another problem has flared up this fall, causing further bitterness between the ratings company and its clients. A number of people in the radio industry have challenged Arbitron's use of telephone directories as a basis on which to draw its samples. This method eliminates all those with unlisted phones, no phones, or new phones which have not yet been published in the book. This can add up to a significant minority.

Gabe Samuels, who is in charge of media research analysis for the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, estimates that, on the average, 30 percent of the residents in a given market are excluded from the telephone book—and consequently from Arbitron's sample. The groups that tend to be excluded from the phone book are the very rich, the poor, racial minorities, young marrieds, and singles. Samuels says that since Arbitron is reaching, at best, only 70 percent of the residents of a city, and since half of those included in an average sample fail to return usable diaries, the company is, in fact, reporting on the listening habits of only 35 percent of the total audience.

Station managers with certain formats—particularly rock and soul—claim that significant percentages of their audiences are overlooked by Arbitron's sampling methods. The formats that benefit from this bias are news, talk, and middle-of-the-road formats that attract a more affluent and less mobile audience.

Arbitron, acknowledging that this is a serious problem, has responded with what it calls ESF—an expanded sample frame. The company has been testing ESF since last spring in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, the four largest radio markets. ESF takes all the telephone exchanges in a city and generates, with a computer, every telephone number that *could* be in existence in a market. All the numbers listed in the phone book are then dropped out, leaving only those numbers that are unlisted or not in use. Arbitron adds a certain percentage of these numbers to the sample drawn from the phone book in hopes of catching some of the rich, the poor, and the mobile.

According to Anthes, tests with ESF have indeed raised the ratings for rock and soul stations. But two questions are troubling clients. First, how many of these unlisted numbers from the ESF should be added to the total sample? Arbitron asked the phone companies in its four test cities to estimate the percentage of numbers not listed in their phone books. Only Chicago cooperated, reporting 44.6 percent. Arbitron had to do the estimating itself in the remaining cities with the following results: 32.2 percent unlisted in New York; 40.3 percent in Philadelphia; and a whopping 46.9 percent in Los Angeles.

Some station managers find it hard to believe that such high percentages of phone numbers are not listed, and it makes them nervous about what Arbitron has been doing all these years before ESF. Dick Montesano, research expert for the Radio Advertising

Bureau in New York, adds that Arbitron has been changing the percentages from test to test, so that "it is not clear to the stations where the numbers are coming from."

The second concern is that Arbitron wants to charge clients about seven percent more for ratings gathered with ESF. Anthes says this represents the increased cost of ESF to the company, but one radio expert wonders why Arbitron "is so eager to experiment on somebody else's nickel. There is no reason why they have to charge more for this service. Their rates are high enough already."

Lennoe Quillinan, research manager for WCBS-AM in New York, an all-news station, says the seven percent surcharge was the hind end of "a one-two punch" that began with a general hike in the price of the service this fall. Another radio researcher notes that as Arbitron has become more and more powerful, its rates have crept up steadily. For four ratings books a year, WABC, and its sister FM station WPLJ, are now paying \$65,000 a year; WHN is paying \$42,000; and WCBS and its FM station are paying more than \$40,000 a year. Arbitron's rates vary from city to city, and from station to station, depending on advertising rates and other factors. Arbitron also has a cost-of-living clause in its contract which provides for automatic rate increases tied to government cost-of-living indices. (Clients wonder why that is, since Arbitron's computers don't eat.) And Arbitron also has the option of increasing the price of its service if a station raises its advertising rates. To some stations, the seven percent surcharge for ESF was the last straw.

In October, Arbitron offered ESF to stations in its four test markets. The company said that if 80 percent of the stations in a market did not agree to pay for the service, it would not be offered at all, even though Arbitron is convinced that ESF is clearly an improve-

ment in research methodology. The reactions of the stations are revealing. On November 2, Arbitron learned that only stations in Chicago voted to pay for ESF. In New York, 48 percent of the stations nixed it; in Philadelphia, 41 percent; and, in Los Angeles, 65 percent said no. (Arbitron had given the Los Angeles stations only a week to decide.)

Anthes says the Arbitron sales staff will continue to offer ESF to the top 30 markets and that the company "has not given up on ESF," despite the discouraging news. Yet the rejection of the improved method indicates how far apart the stations and Arbitron are in establishing a dialogue.

Some of Arbitron's troubles can be traced to its position as the only game in town. As one observer says, "The stations are nervous because they have no other rating service to turn to." Arbitron used to have competition from Pulse, founded by Sydney Roslow and now run by his sons Richard and Peter. Pulse uses a personal interview technique which avoids some of Arbitron's problems (but which has some of its own).

When Control Data bought Arbitron seven years ago, it provided the most advanced computer technology for data processing and vigorously promoted its product to stations and ad agencies. It spent money to produce an attractive ratings book, which it delivers on time. Pulse lacked the investment capital and management know-how to match these processing and marketing challenges. Its ratings books are not nearly so slick or easy to read, and they often arrive late.

Ad agencies around the country (which value both surface appeal and reliability) turned sour on Pulse. They ceased to buy time based on Pulse ratings, so the stations ceased buying Pulse books. Mike Siegal, vice president of broadcasting operations for SFM Media Services Corporation, estimates that "90 to 95

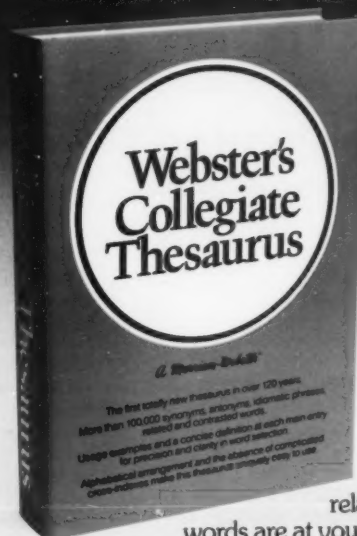
percent of the ad agencies in the U.S. use Arbitron as their primary buying tool," and that perhaps 90 percent of all dollars spent on radio are allocated either by Arbitron numbers or personal sales appeals. Pulse accounts for only ten percent or less of the buys.

The resentment at Arbitron's size and arbitrariness has produced a small revolt in the industry. On November 1, the Radio Advertising Bureau, which was set up by the industry to promote the medium as an advertising vehicle, announced that it would seek to make available to stations a new audience measurement service by next spring. According to Miles David, president of the RAB, the organization hopes to contract with a research firm which would gather the audience data under specifications set up by the RAB. But the industry would control the presentation and analysis of the numbers. David is hoping that Burke Marketing Research of Cincinnati will submit a proposal. Burke, however, is thinking of taking on Arbitron itself, and may not be interested in simply supplying numbers under contract to the RAB.

Anthes says that Arbitron is not frightened by the RAB decision, or by the impending entry of Burke. But she admits the company is concerned about its image of arrogance and profiteering. She says that more sales people are being hired to service client stations, and that Arbitron officials have begun meeting with station personnel to better explain ESF.

How the industry solves its current ratings problems is of importance to more than the radio buffs and the advertising community. The lessons learned here will soon have to be applied to television, which, like radio, is becoming increasingly portable and fractionated by cable and the growth of UHF stations. If radio's system of audience measurement collapses, television's won't be far behind. ■

From Merriam-Webster, the first totally new Thesaurus in 120 years.



Thesauruses have not changed significantly for over a century; most are merely rearrangements of Roger's work, first published in 1852. But now comes Webster's Collegiate Thesaurus. As soon as you look at one page, you'll know the difference. It's as fast and easy to use as a dictionary.

No complicated cross-references here. Instead, over 100,000 synonyms, antonyms, idiomatic phrases, related words, and contrasted words are at your fingertips in simple alphabetical listing. An organizational tour de force. New from Merriam-Webster. Just \$9.95, wherever books are sold.

Merriam-Webster, Springfield, Mass. 01101

glance 369

glad *adj* 1 characterized by or expressing the mood of one who is pleased or delighted <he was *glad* to be on vacation>

syn happy, joyful, joyous, lighthearted

rel delighted, gratified, pleased, rejoiced, tickled; blithe, exhilarated, jocund, jolly, jovial, merry; gleeful, hilarious, mirthful

idiom filled with (or full of) delight

con blue, dejected, depressed, downcast, melancholy; despondent, dispirited, heavyhearted, sadhearted, unhappy; forlorn, joyless, sorrowful, woeful

ant sad
2 full of brightness and cheerfulness <a *glad* spring morning>

syn bright, cheerful, cheery, radiant

rel beaming, sparkling; beautiful; genial, pleasant

con dark, dim, dull, gloomy, somber

gladden *vb* *syn* PLEASE 2, aridde, delat...

ify, beautif...

'WASHINGTON POST': THE UNIONS ARE RUNNING SCARED

Guild In Weak Bargaining Position In Aftermath Of Bitter Pressmen's Strike

Bradlee's 'creative tension' keeps newsroom on edge.

BY JOHN HANRAHAN and CHIP BERLET

Some 40 years ago, Heywood Broun, the spiritual father of the Newspaper Guild, observed that, "You cannot have a free press which rests upon the fears and apprehensions of reporters who are frightened and who feel that they have good reason to be frightened."

Two years ago, responding to fears and apprehensions, most of the reporters and editors at *The Washington Post* who belonged to Broun's union refused to honor the picket lines of three striking craft unions. The failure of the *Post*'s Guild unit to support the craft unions proved decisive in breaking the strike.

The decision to cross the picket lines is now haunting members of the Guild as the *Post* management, in an effort to maximize profits, has shifted its attack from the pressroom to the newsroom. For 20 months, the Guild has been operating without a contract. Union leaders say it will probably be a year or more before it gets one. Instead of embracing Guild members for loyalty to management during the strike, the prosperous Washington Post Company has done everything possible to weaken the Guild.

Management's assault on the Guild, combined with the "creative tension" managerial style of Executive Editor Benjamin C. Bradlee, has resulted in low morale and unease in some quarters of *The Washington Post* newsroom. The Bradlee style, emphasizing competition among reporters, professionalism, and the notion that no one is indispensable, is the newsroom version of the *Post*'s new labor philosophy. That philosophy, according to union leaders at the *Post*, places profits and productivity ahead of employees' rights. The unions appear to be in the way, and the elite Guild is no exception.

"There is no doubt about it in my mind," says Barry Gross, chairman of the *Post*'s Guild unit and an assistant financial editor. "The company is out to bust the Guild." Gross, more professional than militant, honored craft-union picket lines for four-

and-a-half months during the 1975 strike. He returned to work after the other striking unions voted to accept contracts and to cross the ongoing picket line of Pressmen's Local 6. (The pressmen had been replaced two months earlier by permanent strikebreakers after the company unilaterally declared a halt to collective bargaining.) Gross, a man not given to overstatement, says that, "Reporters and editors, of all people, who are supposed to be trained to analyze complex situations, had better start realizing that the company is trying to do to us and the other unions what it did to the pressmen."

A Guild Divided

Within weeks after pressmen, mailers, and photoengravers went out on strike October 1, 1975, some 275 Guild members and 1,500 other craft-union members were honoring the picket line. But more than 500 Guild members joined management personnel and strikebreakers brought in from the outside to continue publishing the newspaper. Only 50 newsroom Guild members honored the picket lines; the rest of the strike supporters came from classified advertising, circulation, and other commercial departments within the Guild.

This division—some Guild members outside, most inside—produced considerable bitterness, especially after union charges were filed against those Guild members who crossed the lines. Many of them subsequently quit the Guild and formed the Washington Newspaper Union, an unaffiliated, in-house union. The WNU challenged the Guild for the right to be the collective bargaining agent for *Post* newsroom and commercial employees. The Guild survived—barely—in a July 1976 election supervised by the National Labor Relations Board.

According to most observers, the key to the Guild's narrow victory was the resignation of Brian Flores, the administrative officer for Guild Local 35 (which includes the *Baltimore Sun*, *The Washington Star*, and other smaller units, as well as the *Post*). Relations between Flores, who supported the pressmen's strike, and a majority of the *Post* unit had been deteriorating for some time. Despite Flores's departure and a number of reforms designed to make the local more democratic, by late last year *Post* Guild membership was down to about half its pre-strike total of 830. It has since climbed to just over 500 members.

While some of the bitterness has eased over the last year, the Guild is still very much divided from the rest of the unions at

John Hanrahan and Chip Berlet are Washington freelance writers who were active in support of The Washington Post pressmen's strike and legal defense efforts. Hanrahan, who worked for the Post for seven years as a local reporter and assistant editor, walked out in support of the strike on October 1, 1975, and did not return to the paper. In June 1976, he was informed by the Post that his job had been filled. Hanrahan is co-author of Lost Frontier: The Market- ing Of Alaska, recently published by Norton.

The Washington Post



The Newspaper Guild voted not to support the 1975 pressmen's strike. Now it is struggling for its own survival.

the newspaper. Among the craft unions, according to union officials, the Guild is considered a "scab union." This is not only because most of its members crossed the picket lines, but because some of them worked outside their jurisdictions doing strikers' jobs. As a result, in the unlikely event of a Guild strike, the craft unions would have little inclination to support the Guild.

The *Post* Guild today has little clout. The threat of a strike is greatly diminished—and management knows it. The Guild's only weapon appears to be publicity, but it is unlikely that the public would be aroused by the complaints of a union, many of whose members earn \$29,000 a year.

Individually, newsroom Guild members (as well as some non-members) express fears about corporate and newsroom management. But, aside from a handful of activists, most people in the newsroom continue to stay aloof from the Guild—some out of genuine disgust or despair over past Guild action, others out of a feeling that Bradlee and many of his lieutenants view Guild activism as unprofessional.

"It's like an occupied territory, where the occupier is not a total dictator, but you're aware it is occupied territory," says Tom Grubisich, a veteran reporter on the Virginia staff and, until early this year, the president of Guild Local 35. "There hasn't been any serious harassment of those guild members who honored the picket lines, but there doesn't have to be. There is just the constant grinding down that goes with living in an occupied territory. After all, once the enemy occupies the city they don't have to shell it. The *Post* has accomplished what it wanted to do."

British journalist Henry Fairlie, a friend of many top *Post* editors and author of a regular column in the *Sunday Post*, sees the newsroom in a similar light. Writing last spring in *The New Republic*, Fairlie observed that, "The editorial staff of the *Post* is running scared: more scared than I have known the editorial staff of any newspaper with which I have been associated in 25 years. . . . The voice of the Newspaper Guild has been greatly weakened by the *Post*'s victory [over the pressmen]—what a vic-

tory of which to boast on one's gravestone!—and with it there has been weakened the voice of the journalist protecting the standards of his profession against the management."

Creative Tension

Some of the paranoia and insecurity among reporters is traceable to Bradlee's "creative tension." Undoubtedly, this style has helped produce some of the newspaper's high spots—notably its pursuit of the Watergate scandal—but it is also seen by many internal critics as an occupational hazard.

One example of the drawbacks of creative tension occurred in late 1976, when John MacKenzie, the *Post*'s Supreme Court reporter for a decade, was abruptly told by Managing Editor Howard Simons and Deputy Managing Editor Richard Harwood that he was being removed from his long-time beat, and, in effect, fired. MacKenzie had been regarded by many lawyers and reporters as being one of the nation's leading Supreme Court reporters. Suddenly, he was being told that his work was unsatisfactory and that, if he wished, he could join the *Metro* staff. In the competitive world of *The Washington Post*, such a switch would have been humiliating. MacKenzie asked Harwood and Simons to keep the news of his dismissal quiet until he lined up another job.

But the next morning, news of the firing was all over the newsroom. MacKenzie angrily confronted Harwood and Simons. Simons reportedly said he was appalled that the decision had leaked. Harwood was less sympathetic. But some reporters were convinced that Bradlee, not Harwood or Simons, had leaked the story.

"It had to be a calculated leak on Bradlee's part," says one veteran reporter. "The message we were supposed to get was clear: 'If they can do it to Jack MacKenzie, they can do it to anyone.'" While the MacKenzie firing may have had little significance to some of the newer reporters at the *Post*, it struck the veterans like a thunderbolt. They could only wonder if they, too, would fall victim to creative tension.

Harwood refused to discuss the MacKenzie dismissal. He says he has not detected any dissension in the newsroom and does not think creative tension produces more tension than creativity. Simons also declined to comment on the incident.

Bradlee disputes any suggestion that MacKenzie's dismissal was handled in a callous manner. "Why don't you ask MacKenzie if he thinks he was treated callously?" MacKenzie would not talk about his departure from the *Post*.

Project X

In many respects, Bradlee's managerial style appears almost benevolent compared to the tactics of the men Katharine Graham has brought into the upper corporate echelons. Graham, who once regularly visited and chatted with workers throughout her plant, has, in recent years, turned into a fierce opponent of her employees' unions. This change is closely tied to the *Post*'s corporate evolution.

The 1960s were good years for the Washington Post Company. Pre-tax profits more than doubled between 1963 and 1969, as income from the *Post*, *Newsweek*, and a string of television and radio stations cushioned the corporate nest egg. In 1971, Board Chairman Frederick Beebe convinced Graham to take the company public.

In June 1971, just as the Pentagon Papers controversy was peaking, the Post Company issued 621,375 shares of Class B stock which it sold for \$33 million. Public stock meant public scrutiny of *Post* finances. That year, profits were down. The bottom line at the newspaper division fell from \$11.4 million in 1969 to \$8.8 million in 1970 and \$8.7 million in 1971. Between 1969 and 1970, the magazine division's profits plummeted from \$6.5 million to \$2.5 million.

Graham decided to tighten the reins. Former Navy Secretary Paul R. Ignatius had been

in charge of business operations at the *Post*, but he had been unsuccessful in controlling slowdowns by the printers' union during contract talks. Ignatius left the *Post* in November 1971 and was paid \$150,000 for his unexpired contract. He was replaced by Knight Newspapers executive John S. Prescott, Jr.

With Prescott in place, Graham told a January 1972 meeting of security analysts, "The first order of business at *The Washington Post* is to maximize profits from our existing operations . . . some costs resist more stubbornly than others. The most frustrating kind are those imposed by archaic union practices that deprive the company of the savings we ought to achieve from modern technology. This is a problem we are determined to solve."

Prescott put News Editor Kenneth Johnson in charge of training over 100 non-union staffers to replace craft-union workers in case of a strike. Under "Project X," as the program came to be known, some employees were trained in photocopying and others were sent to Oklahoma to learn pressroom operations at the publisher-supported, anti-union Southern Production Program, Inc. The school had already supplied non-union personnel for newspaper union-busting attempts in Miami, Los Angeles, Dallas, and Kansas City.

The Padilla Incident

In 1973, Prescott brought in Lawrence Wallace to handle labor relations. Labor-management tensions increased exponentially after Wallace's arrival. "The whole atmosphere changed," says Don Gedeon, a mailroom employee at the *Post* from 1963 to 1976. "All of a sudden you weren't a person anymore. You were a number. It suddenly wasn't the paper where my father had worked as a printer and my uncle had worked as a mailer."

In late 1973, the printers' union was engaged in tough negotiations with management. To improve their position at the bargaining table, the printers engaged in periodic slowdowns. One month after their contract expired, management fired printer Michael Padilla for stalling.

The printers staged a sit-down strike, and Wallace called in U.S. Marshals to remove them. Six men were arrested. All the craft unions walked out on strike. "People came from all over, and we surrounded the building with a picket line," recalls William J. Boorman, president of the Columbia Typographical Union Local 101, which represents *Post* printers. "That was the highest point of unity among all the craft unions at the *Post*."

Post management decided it was time to implement Project X. After losing two editions, Graham announced she was going to publish a paper using non-union help. Outside, in the street, the craft-union members were furious. Some people in the crowd began showing weapons and talked about stopping the newspaper from being printed, says Jimmy Dugan, the militant leader of Pressmen's Local 6 at the *Post*. "If they had tried to print the paper with scabs and rats, there would have been violence," Dugan says, "so I took my men and headed for the pressroom." Prescott met Dugan at the door. Management claims it let the pressmen in because Dugan said he was going to run the presses. Dugan insists that he made no such promise.

Thinking the printers' union had been defeated, management "opened up the shutters to the pressroom windows so the union members outside in the street could see the presses running," remembers Boorman. "Suddenly, the paper was cut, and it shot right up to the ceiling. Everyone cheered because we knew there wasn't going to be a paper."

The pressmen refused to leave until the *Post* negotiated

on the Padilla firing. A few hours later, the *Post* agreed to rehire Padilla. "There wasn't much we could do," admits Wallace.

The Padilla incident marked the beginning of a "cold war" between the pressmen and the *Post* management, says Wallace. "That night signaled a change in labor relations here. It was a battle to force a decision to see who was going to run the pressroom down there."

"No question about it," agrees Dugan. "It was open warfare." Dugan and union officials agree that the Padilla incident was the crucial event which made the *Post* management decide to cripple unionism at the newspaper.

In late 1974, the printers signed a contract with the *Post* which guaranteed them lifetime job security, but paved the way for a more automated plant. The contract "amounted to a death sentence," says Bob Stevenson, printers' chapel chairman.

Another crucial event in the history of *Post* labor relations was the ill-fated Guild strike of 1974. Although the strike vote was almost unanimous, the strike, which took place while the printers were still negotiating, barely lasted two weeks. Rather than throw up a picket line, the Guild followed the advice of the local's administrative officer, Brian Flores, and adopted the strategy of "withholding excellence." Guild members stayed home, but permitted all other unions to work. The theory was that the *Post*, bereft of its editorial talent and its gung-ho advertising staff, would cave in and beg them to return.

It didn't work that way. The paper was clearly not up to its normal journalistic standards, but it looked enough like the normal *Post* so that the community was largely unaware a strike was in progress. When the *Post* failed to collapse, Guild members angrily demanded that their leaders settle the strike. Hostility toward Flores increased when



Diana H. Walker



Executive Editor Ben Bradlee (left), Publisher Katharine Graham, and former head of the pressmen's Local 6, Jimmy Dugan.

Guild members discovered that less than an hour before the strike began, management had made an offer similar to one that eventually was accepted.

The Pressmen's Strike

Prescott, who successfully negotiated contracts with the Guild and the printers' union, was replaced in late 1974 by Mark Meagher. According to insiders, Prescott had fallen out of favor because of his role in the humiliating Padilla incident, and because he had written a memo in 1973 supporting pressmen's contentions that the pressroom was not being properly maintained.

Meagher, an accountant who had worked as the corporation's financial vice president, was given the title of general manager. Says Dugan, "Prescott was tough and obnoxious toward the union, but he knew the industry and was a good negotiator. But Meagher, he's a cold-hearted son of a bitch. Meagher sets the bottom line, and he doesn't care if it takes a few bodies to make the figures add up right."

Meagher admits to having

targeted Dugan and the pressmen's union in the year before the 1975 strike. According to the pressmen, grievances were ignored, pressroom maintenance was cut back, safety conditions deteriorated, and letters of reprimand for minor infractions were sent to pressmen's homes. In retaliation, the pressmen began slowdowns.

In late 1974, the *Post* laid off 36 pressmen and offered to rehire them as part-timers without fringe benefits, a move later reversed by court order. From then on, the presses would shut down every time certain management people set foot inside the pressroom.

"They had a feeling of immense power down there," says Wallace. "Everything that is produced here in the newsroom, in advertising, funnels right down over that folder on that press."

In the early morning hours of October 1, 1975, with the contract expired and negotiations halted, a small group of pressmen began removing and hiding the folder nose cones and other key press parts in preparation for a strike. They had estimated it would take up to two months to install replacement parts. Other press-

men, frustrated and angry over management's anti-labor policies, cut up web rolls and sliced the rubber press blankets.

A fire in one of the presses that night also caused some damage. Despite a thorough Fire Department investigation, no arson charges were ever filed. (Although the *Post* and other media repeatedly cited pressroom damage worth millions of dollars, Meagher insists management never "officially made any claim about the amount of damages.") Meagher now says the actual damages were around \$280,000. The Goss company, which supplied the replacement parts, was quoted in several news accounts as saying that their bill was less than \$13,000.)

The damage to the pressroom, and a series of incidents in which reporters were roughed up crossing picket lines, gave many Guild members an excuse to continue working. When Guild members first met for a vote, they overwhelmingly shouted down the local board's proposal to honor the picket lines. On three later occasions, the *Post* unit affirmed its earlier action.

The Guild's decision was

devastating to Local 6. Prior to the strike, Dugan had been told that the other *Post* unions, including the Guild, would honor the picket line. He had not realized Flores could no longer deliver his troops.

Faced with a grand jury investigation into the pressroom damage and management's final offer, which the *Post* admits would have resulted in "an almost total loss of union prerogatives" gained through collective bargaining, the union refused to settle. The picket line stayed up, but privately the pressmen began admitting that the strike had been broken.

"To have accepted their final offer would have meant there was no union," says Dugan. Katharine Graham was quoted in a *Post* article as saying she would have "slit my throat" if the pressmen had accepted. The final offer called for the dismissal of many pressmen through manning reductions, and an ouster of 24 pressmen considered troublemakers because of their alleged role in the press damage. "What kind of union throws in half its members as a sacrifice?" asks Dugan. "They want housebroken unions. You're better

off having nothing than having a job that's shit."

The strike cost the union over \$200,000, but its human cost cannot be measured. One pressman committed suicide. Others lost their homes, their cars, and their life savings. Most could not find pressroom work elsewhere.

On April 14, 1977, 19 months after the strike began, prosecutors dropped all felony charges against 15 pressmen who had been indicted. The pressmen pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges on the condition that no further charges be leveled against union members. The 15 received sentences ranging from fines to detention in work-release programs. One pressman convicted of punching political reporter Jules Witcover received one year in jail.

Ray Forsman, who replaced Dugan as Local 6 president, finally pulled down the picket line after the sentencing. He disbanded the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee, which had coordinated support for the pressmen, but not before leading one last march around the *Post*. He told the crowd of 400 pressmen and supporters that the *Post* had busted the union. "But we have succeeded in exposing the liberal *Washington Post* as a profit-gouging, anti-worker conglomerate whose social conscience begins and ends with the balance sheet."

Henry Fairlie, writing in *The New Republic* this spring, echoed this charge: "The pressmen's strike was crushed with methods and with a severity that are not usually accepted in the third quarter of the 20th century, and that the press in general or the *Post* in particular would not be likely to regard as acceptable from the owners of steel mills."

Fairlie ascribes the new labor policies at the *Post* to the inevitable drive for profits that accompanies corporate growth. "There is a sense in which Kay Graham," he wrote, "since she converted the *Post* into a public company, is hardly a

free agent any longer [and] is herself subject to the faceless managers who run the corporate system."

Faceless Managers

The *Post*'s "faceless managers" have their offices on the seventh floor of the *Post* building.

Mark Meagher is the youthful, almost ebullient overseer of current management policies. He denies that the *Post* has tied a drive for profits to anti-union labor policies. But, he admits that public scrutiny of the company's finances put pressure on the corporation to be more profitable, and that there were "labor costs that just threw productivity out of the window."

The company might have started by trimming its burgeoning bureaucracy. Between 1971 and 1975, administrative costs at the *Post* Company rose 105 percent, and, in 1974—one year before the strike—management personnel were given \$546,000 in special bonuses above their regular salaries. Instead, the *Post* targeted the craft unions, even though production costs had actually dropped in relation to revenues.

"The union's expectations got out of kilter," charges Meagher. "The union leadership was serving its own interests rather than the interests of the people in the union. It created a situation that had to be corrected. It's all being done in the best interest of the employees."

Meagher says that for a long time the unions "viewed the *Post* as a punching bag." Former *Post* executives, he believes, let the "pendulum swing much further toward union domination" than was tolerable. "As a matter of fact," says Meagher, arching his eyebrows, "I think they gave the damn store away." Meagher strongly denies that his policies are anti-union, or that he would prefer a non-union *Post*. "But," he adds,

"do you know any management that doesn't believe it could treat its employees so fairly that they don't need outside representation?"

Larry Wallace, a chain-smoker with a gruff manner, expresses opinions that are remarkably similar to those of his boss, Mark Meagher. "The unions think they can treat us like a punching bag," he says. "Out of economic necessity, there had to be some swinging back of the pendulum."

On the wall of Wallace's office is a framed *Post* front page—the first issue published with non-union help during the pressmen's strike. He also keeps a collection of implementations he claims were used by the pressmen to sabotage the presses.

"That Dugan is a hell of a leader," Wallace says. But it was Dugan, he believes, who was responsible for the pressmen's union being broken. "I fault the unions for not realizing management meant business. It was childish for them to believe otherwise."

Wallace, like Meagher, denies the *Post* was trying to break the pressmen's union. "It's a goddamn lie," he exclaims. "It makes nice propaganda from the union standpoint. But there was no plot, plan, motive, or even thought" of provoking a strike.

Sitting on Wallace's desk is a sign that reads: "If you can't dazzle them with brilliance—baffle them with bullshit." Most craft-union leaders at the *Post* believe that is Wallace's chief negotiating tactic.

After Wallace's arrival, according to William Boorman, *Post* management decided it "had the right to question language in the contract, to unilaterally make changes, and then force the union into arbitration on each point." This resulted in numerous arbitrations—"more in the last four years than in the entire history of collective-bargaining agreements between our union and the *Post*," says Boorman. Grievances formerly settled by supervisors and union officials

suddenly went to arbitration, costing the union between \$1,500 and \$2,500 each time.

The 200-member mailers' union has had similar problems with the *Post*'s policy of "breaking the contract and forcing us to arbitrate," says Jimmy Cox, the mailers' chapel chairman during the 1975 strike. As an example of unilateral action by *Post* management, Cox cites the company's announcement in the fall of 1976 that it was dissolving the profit-sharing plan retroactively to January 1976, and replacing it with a retirement plan. Cox says the printers and mailers both wanted to negotiate the point. But the *Post*, represented by Katharine Graham's son, Donald, made it clear that it was going ahead with the plan regardless.

Chipping Away At The Guild

The *Post* has taken a similar stance in its prolonged negotiations with the Guild. After refusing to bargain at all until it was resolved whether the Guild or the Washington Newspaper Union would represent employees, *Post* management first sat down with Guild negotiators 14 months ago. Thus far, agreement has been reached on few major issues.

Among the concessions Wallace has demanded are proposals for taking away the Guild's right to strike or to honor picket lines of other unions. In addition, the *Post* has refused to submit any grievance issues to arbitration since the old contract expired on April 1, 1976, contending that only the wages and hours provisions of the old pact are still in effect. The Guild has taken the *Post* to court on the issue, giving management the opportunity to file papers twitting the Guild thusly: "The *Washington Post* is without information or knowledge sufficient to form a belief as to the truth of the allegation that... Local 35 is a labor organization...."

Management has also

I want to give THE SUBSCRIBER MORE

To My Friends
At the Special Xmas Gift Price of
\$12 a Year for the First Subscription
And \$9 a Year for Each
Additional Subscription

Your gift subscription order will be promptly acknowledged. An appropriate gift announcement, from the publisher, will then be sent to your designated recipients just before Christmas, for all orders received by December 15, 1977.

Gift subscription:

Name _____

Please Print

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

Gift subscription:

Name _____

Please Print

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

Gift subscription:

Name _____

Please Print

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

☐ Payment enclosed.

☐ Bill me, please.

☐ Also enter or renew my own subscription.

From: _____

(Name)

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

Add \$2.00 per year for subscriptions outside the U.S. and Canada. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery of first issue.

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 55919
New York, N.Y.

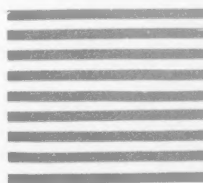
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by

THE MEDIA MAGAZINE
MoreE

P.O. Box 955
Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737



GIVE THE MEDIA MAGAZINE More THIS CHRISTMAS

You've given ties, books and bottles for Christmas.

This time, instead of giving more of the same, give MORE.

First, because Christmas is a time when you should give more.

Secondly, because Christmas is a time when MORE is less.

Your first gift subscription of MORE is \$12. (That's \$3 less than the newsstand price.) And every gift subscription thereafter is \$9. (That's \$3 less than \$12.)

But don't just give MORE because of what it costs, give it because of what it is. You've probably noticed that MORE has changed the way it looks. What you may not have noticed is that we've changed the way we look at things.

No longer content to read between the lines of newspapers and magazines, MORE will now examine every aspect of the media. Every month, we'll be looking at advertising, book publishing, film, public relations, design and marketing.

If you neglected to give MORE last Christmas, the people you neglected to give it to missed out on goodies like MORE's

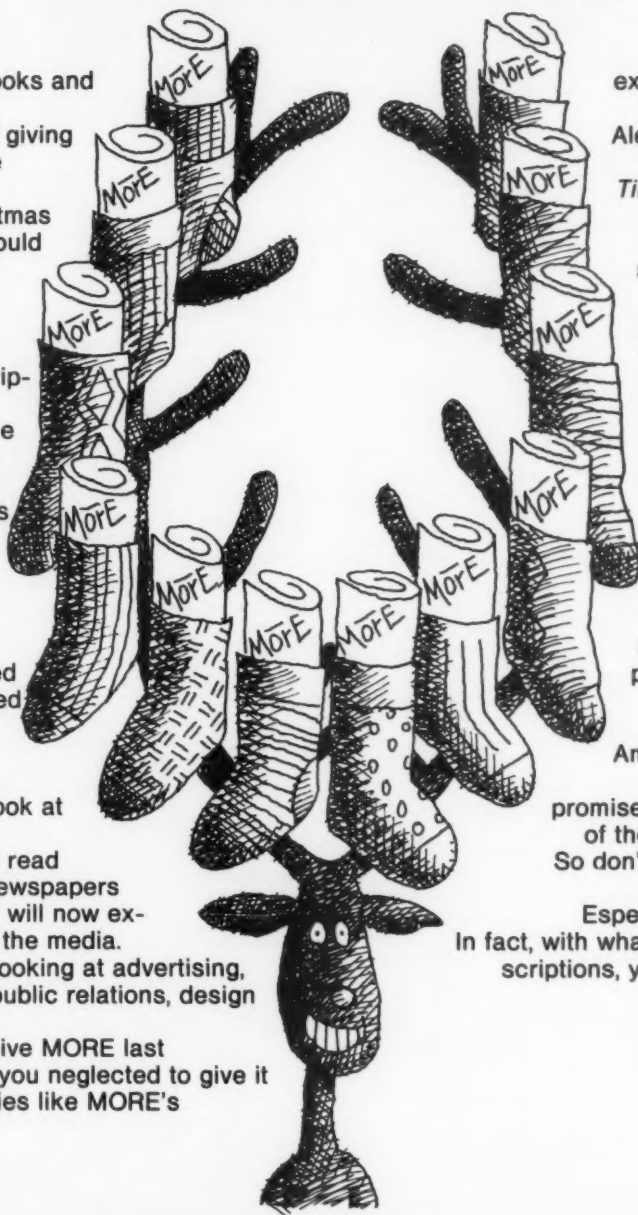
expose of the cover-up of George Polk's murder; Alden Whitman's memoirs of his 11 years on the *Times'* obit desk; Michael Arlen's reflections on TV's love-hate relationship with terrorists; and Chris Welles' probing profile of *Forbes* magazine. What's more, they may have missed great writing by great writers like David Halberstam, J. Anthony Lukas, Alexander Cockburn, John Simon, Nora Ephron, John Leonard, Merle Miller, Nicholas von Hoffman, Victor Navasky and so many more. The kind of people who caused Gay Talese to note that, "the best journalists in America write for MORE."

This year, we can promise you there will be more of the same. And a lot more. So don't neglect to give MORE this Christmas.

Especially now that it's less.

In fact, with what you save on two subscriptions, you can give MORE and

More
THE MEDIA MAGAZINE



refused to provide dues checkoffs for anyone who joined or rejoined the Guild after April 1, 1976. And until late summer, the *Post* was even refusing to provide the Guild with a list of new employees.

Earlier this year, the company took steps to undermine the jointly administered health and welfare plan. Management announced that, because of increasing rates, it would no longer bear the full costs of the plan. (This came shortly after stories appeared in the *Post* citing record company profits of \$24.5 million in 1976.) The company went over the heads of Guild leaders and offered employees a choice of sticking with the joint plan at a cost to the employee of as much as \$9.25 a week, or of switching over to a separate company-managed plan for which they would have to pay nothing extra. The Guild called it "blackmail"; management called it "freedom of choice." (Management later said that employees would not have to pay the extra charge to stay with the joint plan.)

According to union officials, the main reason the *Post* wants to scuttle the joint plan is so that it can have total control over who is entitled to benefits and how much those benefits will be.

Perhaps management's most significant effort to weaken the Guild was its filing a case last year with the National Labor Relations Board to have 185 jobs in Guild jurisdiction declared supervisory positions. The case, formally known as a unit-clarification proceeding, has been dragging on for more than a year, and it is likely to be another year before it is finally settled. If the company wins, one-fifth of what is now the Guild bargaining unit would be cut away from union jurisdiction.

The *Post* has used the NLRB case as an excuse for stalling at the bargaining table, says Gross. "Every time we bring up a matter of any substance, Larry Wallace tells us the com-

pany can't take a position on it until the unit-clarification case is settled."

Guild negotiators point to a number of examples which they say show just how petty Wallace and the company can be. On one occasion, Guild bargainers questioned the use of an increasing number of part-time workers in Guild jurisdictions. They asked why Robin Williams, who worked as an editor five days a week in two different departments ("Style" and *Potomac* magazine), was listed as a part-timer (that is, one not entitled to the full range of benefits and protections). Wallace said he would look into it, and, at a later session, he reportedly announced that the company was taking away one of Williams's work days, thus clearly making her a part-timer.

Wallace contends, "I am no more dragging my feet in these negotiations than the Guild. The Guild files an awful lot of complaints. They say they don't like the felt-tip pens or the size of their notebooks."

The Dreyfuss Affair

For most people in the newsroom, the battle between the company and the union seems distant from daily concerns. But the weakened position of the Guild seems to have had repercussions in the newsroom. Many reporters are nervous about confronting their editors for fear of being labeled "disloyal" or a troublemaker. As one younger national reporter puts it: "Most reporters are afraid to talk to other reporters about the way the paper is run, and the reporters are afraid to talk to their editors about the same matters. There's a pervasive feeling that you'd better watch what you say, because it might get back to one of the top editors."

Loyalty is a hallmark of the Ben Bradlee style. In September 1975, then-Deputy Managing Editor Bob Baker sent a memo to Bradlee and Simons summarizing recommenda-

tions from the *Post* editors' annual brainstorming conference (known as "Pugwash"). The memo—portions of which were published in *MORE* in September 1976—stated that department heads should submit to Simons "lists of staffers who are non-producers... as well as the names of those staffers who are disloyal to the *Post* and who are troublemakers." In a subsequent memo to his staff, Simons wrote that he didn't recall the word "disloyal" being used at Pugwash. "But that doesn't mean it wasn't used there," he said. "To be sure, we talked about non-producers, especially the burden they place on their colleagues and their editors. And we talked about troublemakers, or, as they were characterized—'well-poisoners.' By this, we mean those few persons who wittingly upset the staff by spreading false rumors."

Loyalty was also at the heart of the "Dreyfuss Affair," which took place during the 1975-76 pressmen's strike. Joel Dreyfuss, a black reporter on the "Style" staff, applied for the job of West Coast bureau chief. Dreyfuss had frequently criticized the *Post* for its inadequate coverage of the black community. On January 1, 1976, Bradlee turned down Dreyfuss's application.

"You should know," he wrote, "that we have decided that we are not interested in offering you that job. Ever since you joined the paper, you have been critical of its managers, their attitudes on racial matters, their personnel policies, their assignments. You have made it clear that you prefer not to become a team player, but to stay outside and try to change the paper in your own image. Editors invariably have respected your talents, if not always your performance. But they have always resented your attitudes.... This is how you gained the reputation you have among the editors here, the reputation of a gifted journalist

who is also a pain in the ass. All of us would love to have—and will have—as our Los Angeles bureau chief a gifted journalist. None of us wants a pain in the ass out there."

Bradlee's Dilemma

Bradlee revealed his current thinking about the Guild to one of his own reporters, Lou Cannon. In Cannon's recent book, *Reporting: An Inside View*, the *Post* editor was asked how he would improve his newspaper. Bradlee responded, "I have an answer that's so revolutionary and anti-union. I'd have the power to get rid of people. And I would say it much more compassionately: the power to find other people other jobs. That's what I want. I have weeded people out, but at great anguish to me, great personal cost. If I had the power to get rid of people, I could put out a hell of a lot better newspaper."

"In other words," one of the *Post*'s star reporters says angrily, "all that's standing between Bradlee and a great newspaper is us. He speaks of this as being revolutionary, but it's so reactionary it takes us right back to the 19th century. I've seen him fire a lot of people, but I don't recall any compassion. Where was the compassion with Jack MacKenzie? He absolutely does not want reporters to have any rights at all. Total control, that's what he's talking about."

"I believe in the Guild," Bradlee told us. "I believe in its purposes. But I do not believe in the way Brian Flores ran it. The Guild, in some ways, has hurt the cause of journalism. Salaries here are too high for too many people. We sometimes attract the wrong people and then we can't get rid of them."

Bradlee also differed with Henry Fairlie's assessment that *Post* reporters were "running scared." "Something very good has been happening with morale at *The Washington Post*," he says. "There's more cohesiveness, more pulling together. There's an absence of

bullshit and carping. People here remember that strike. It produced a solidarity [among those who worked during the strike] that's never been known before in the newsroom."

Bradlee's style of "creative tension" has become an issue in contract negotiations—an issue which management says it will not negotiate. National reporter Morton Mintz, who has frequently complained that reporters have no voice in news policy at the *Post*, has proposed the creation of a "Voice Committee," which would set up a mechanism for an exchange of views between reporters and their editors. As Mintz put it in a recent Guild bulletin: "News department employees need such a mechanism to protect themselves from actual or potential abuse of their rights by management."

Then, in a pointed reference to Bradlee's management style, Mintz wrote, "One case in point concerns 'creative tension,' the phrase applied by the top news management to the milieu they think desirable. It happens that many distinguished medical scientists equate or associate tension with disease, and it happens, too, that a good many of us are subjected to largely unavoidable tensions, because of the nature of the business we're in, much of the time.... Our contention is simply this: if an editor seeks to create tension, we ought to have a mechanism with which we can talk about the matter."

It is this atmosphere of competition and managerial control that helps explain why many of the newsroom Guild members voted on four occasions to cross picket lines in 1975-1976. During a meeting of some newsroom Guild members in late 1975, several reporters who were sympathetic to the strike, but who refused to join the picket lines, expressed fears that if they took an individual stand they would ruin their careers at the *Post*. When asked if he really

believed that, Ron Koven, then the foreign editor, answered, "You're damn right I do." Not one of the 25 people in the room disagreed with him.

The Silent Treatment

Despite these fears, there have been few instances of direct retaliation by management against Guild newsroom members who did honor the picket lines. In most cases, the biggest punishment meted out was the silent treatment. Bradlee and Simons would not speak to some of those who were on the picket lines for months after they returned to work.

In a few cases, there were direct confrontations. Austin Scott, at the time of the strike the only black reporter on the national staff, spoke at a Guild meeting in support of observing the picket lines. He stayed outside the building for part of December 1975, and, when he returned to work, posted a note on the bulletin board saying his return did not indicate support of management policies. Katharine Graham saw the note and angrily told Scott that he was being dishonest.

Richard Homan, an assistant editor on the foreign desk, honored the picket line for two months. Upon his return, he sent a letter to Graham criticizing management's labor policies. Bradlee called Homan into his office and chastised him for 45 minutes.

Those reporters who opposed the strike have not been singled out for advancement. Don Baker, a Maryland staff reporter, and leader of a group of several hundred Guild members who opposed the strike, would have been one of the first to receive a reward if management were handing out bouquets for pro-company activities. "I sure as hell haven't been rewarded," says Baker. "And I haven't seen any startling examples of anyone else being rewarded for crossing the lines, or being

punished for staying out. On the other hand, I don't know of any militant Guild people who have had meteoric rises since the strike. You could point to some Guild people and say they've been screwed since the strike, but so have a lot of others who opposed the strikers. And that's nothing new. People have always been screwed at *The Washington Post*. That's one of the conditions of employment."

Even among top editors who were not members of the Guild, there were few rewards for those who exhibited pro-company zeal during the strike. No one was more of a cheerleader for the company position than then-National Editor Harry Rosenfeld, according to those who worked with him. Yet, after the strike was over, Rosenfeld was removed from the paper's number-three newsroom job and banished to the Sunday "Outlook" section.

Thomas Kendrick, then editor of the "Style" section, worked extremely long hours during the strike. Kendrick is credited with having built "Style" into an exciting section during the early 1970s. Despite his loyalty, Kendrick was told shortly after the strike ended that he was being replaced as "Style" editor. He quit to accept a top executive post at the Kennedy Center.

One thing most reporters agree on is that the animosities that developed among newsroom employees during the strike still linger two years later. One anti-strike reporter recalls how his family used to socialize regularly with the family of another reporter who supported the pressmen's strike. All social contact between the two has long since ceased, and, in the newsroom, their relationship is now cool and professional.

Despite the many complaints about Bradlee's style, there are, even among his critics, many who dread the day of his departure. According to this view, Bradlee may be the last barrier between newsroom

autonomy and faceless corporate management. "Bradlee's proud and egotistical, and, as long as he's around, it's his newsroom," says one Bradlee critic. "But will Kay and Donnie [Graham] let the next Ben Bradlee have that kind of authority?"

With or without Bradlee, the Guild will probably become even more vulnerable. Printers' chapel chairman Bob Stevenson notes the irony of the Guild being subjected to the same treatment as the craft unions. Although the Guild helped Graham break the 1975-76 strike, he says, "She has not repaid them. She has shown the Guild that she is still going to be tough on the unions. They went after us first, then the pressmen. Now it's the Guild's turn."

Stevenson believes that the only way the unions at the *Post* can regain their strength is through a merger. Yet there has been little progress toward a joint bargaining council, reports Stevenson, much less a move toward one industrial union. One factor is the enormous resentment harbored by many craft unions toward Guild members. Another is that some smaller unions, such as the photoengravers, fear their narrow interests would be swallowed up in a larger union or joint bargaining council. But the longer it takes to band together, Stevenson warns, the longer *Post* management will be able to pick on the unions one by one.

Jimmy Dugan says this is just what the Guild and the other unions were told when the pressmen sought Guild support for their strike. "We said management was out to bust or housebreak every union at the *Post*," Dugan remembers. "Management could give the Guild a contract today if it wanted to. Sure, it would be a lousy contract, but the Guild would accept it. But the *Post* won't do it because what they were saying to us—and what they are saying to the Guild and the other unions today—is 'You will grovel.'"

FURTHERMORE

MEDIA
STRAW MANPress Botches Story
Of Mark Rudd's Return

Offers revisionist version of '60s history.

BY LEWIS COLE

While working with Students for a Democratic Society in the late '60s, I developed the habit of reading news stories about radicals as though they were personal affronts. They unerringly misquoted, misrepresented, and misinterpreted. During my baptism of fire, the Columbia strike of 1968, even sympathetic stories appeared biased to me—invariably targets for my general anger. But habits die hard, and my old responses recently revived at the mostly self-serving articles that detailed the sudden appearance, after seven years underground, of Mark Rudd—long-lost companion and ex-leader of the Columbia strike, SDS, and Weathermen.

A week before Rudd surfaced in September, the *Columbia Daily Spectator* polled students and found that few recognized his name. In 1968, their ignorance would have seemed a surprising eventuality. The Columbia strike was one of the major national traumas of that year. A *Times* reporter once told me his paper devoted more space to the rebellion than to any other continuing story except the Vietnam war and the Kennedy assassination. Perhaps he was

exaggerating, but whether third or thirtieth on the list, the six-week strike received an extraordinary amount of notice from the press, and Rudd received more attention than any other individual involved with the strike.

This star billing was inaccurate and unrequested—Rudd always worked within a larger collective and never cultivated reporters. The press fancied Rudd for simplicity's sake, not history's. For reporters, their image of him characterized the larger movement of which he was a member. Early on, they discovered his friendly parents and the thoroughly common facts of his youth. Thereafter, they detailed and investigated his past—his days in the Boy Scouts, his mother's chicken soup recipe, his father's Army career—as though the laws of nature themselves had been contravened by this normal family constellation producing such a rebellious son. He became a phenomenon for them and a new entry into their classification of radicals—the suburban rebel, the middle-class kid who hailed from New Jersey but called Cuba his home.

Part of this caricature was his orneriness. Rudd wasn't charming; he neither played for the press—as did Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman—nor offered it an attractive personality. He lacked the blessings that usually are considered saving graces in radicals—

Wide World



Mark Rudd returns: The press set him up in the '60s and is knocking him down in the '70s.

wealth, wit, poetic eloquence—and occasionally acted as though he were striving for a notorious reputation. One evening we tried to convince Norman Mailer to contribute money to the strike. Mailer disputed the strike's importance; we found his attitude insulting and unremunerative. If you appeared on television, he told us, the audience would love you. Rudd said no. Mailer asked why. "We're too ugly," Rudd said. Mailer judged the response Dostoyevskian—I considered it more Henny Youngmanian—and immediately wrote a check for a thousand dollars.

Rudd didn't adopt this stance simply because he desired to be known as a desperado. Everyone now claims disapproval of the war and support of the civil rights movement, but passionate opposition to the government's policies was rare back then and often treated with a maddening and hypocritical condescension. Our cockiness and anger were a tactical answer to the predicament, and Rudd took

the rap for it.

Six months after the strike, the press had already transformed him into a symbol of militant, white, young radicals. I remember the first time I realized this. I saw a picture of Rudd in the columns of a national magazine. The photo illustrated an article on the crop of new activists and had been taken early during the strike. Rudd had been speaking with his customary discomfort and pleasure, a mix of such obvious and avid passions and hesitations that only the most hardened cynic could doubt his essential honesty. Then, his oratorical moment had been part of a tactical debate; now, disembodied, his presence was a vision of national conflict.

"An extremely capable, ruthless, cold-blooded guy," was how David Truman, Columbia's vice president at the time, characterized him—in short, a mix of Jesse James and Lenin before the age of 20. This hyperbolic, cynical perspective framed people's attitudes toward him.

The press continued to botch

Lewis Cole was a member of the Columbia Strike Steering Committee in 1968. He is currently writing a book about basketball that will be published by Bobbs-Merrill next fall.

the story when Rudd reappeared. Most reports presented past history inaccurately. The *Times* stated that, "The student strikers demanded recognition by the university administration of the right of students to participate in the restructuring of the university." This mush-mouthed muse of protest never inspired us. The New York *Daily News* claimed we held "professors hostage." Indeed, we did keep one member of the university staff in his office for 24 hours, but he was a dean and a single victim. The Columbia *Spectator* credited Rudd with hitting a Selective Service official in the face with a pie, a burlesque gesture he didn't execute. And Jimmy Breslin similarly added a gratuitous new twist to the Rudd myth, commenting in a *Daily News* column that the 11th Street lot, once occupied by the brownstone where three Weathermen were blown up, was commonly known as "Mark Rudd's playground," a locution which I suspect Breslin ad-libbed.

The WCBS-TV evening news outdid itself in this comedy of ignorance. It reported that Weathermen had led the Columbia strike (the group didn't exist at the time), informed its viewers that the students had fought for "student power," and remarked that Rudd was famous for saying he couldn't trust anyone over thirty. The jumble was comparable, say, to a report that Abraham Lincoln had commanded John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and, while advancing on Atlanta to keep the South from seceding, answered a reporter's question with a gruff, "War is hell."

The reporters covering Rudd's surfacing—there were more than a hundred who converged on him as he entered the Foley Square courthouse—failed to answer the only two significant questions: where had he been, and why had he turned himself in? Rudd declined all interviews, and reporters could have used his silence as an excuse for their

ignorance; instead, they just blathered.

The *Daily News* reported that, "Many [believed Rudd] to be dead," but the AP dispatch in the *Dallas Morning News* discounted this on the advice, no less, of the *Daily News* itself. In 1975, the *Morning News* stated, "newspapers" reported that friends of Rudd had received letters from him. "The New York *Daily News*," the AP article continued, "reported that the letters said Rudd had been placed in a camp for the rehabilitation of homosexuals after he had been arrested [in Cuba]." AP must have retrieved this cadaver from its morgue, but forgot to check the autopsy report—the letters appeared in the *National Lampoon* and were merely a tasteless joke. The *Morning News* didn't offer any speculation on Rudd's escape from the Cuban rehabilitation camp, leaving his doubtlessly Papillon-like adventures to the private imaginings of its readers. (Or was he traded for a tractor?)

Undaunted in its efforts for a scoop, the *Daily News* made a new claim: Rudd's appearance was part of a Weathermen strategy and would be followed by the imminent surfacing of four other underground leaders. Some out-of-town newspapers picked this tidbit up, though neither source nor reason was given with the *News*'s story. *Newsweek* quoted one vaguely sinister-sounding "Columbia source with contacts on the left" (a *Spectator* reporter who occasionally calls a few old-timers?) that Rudd was regarded by many "dissidents" as a "romantic," and added that another "underground source"—deeper throat—said Rudd "couldn't stand not being a star."

Less resourceful papers than these relied on Jacob Rudd, Mark's father, for an insight into his son's reappearance. "He's 30 years old," Jacob Rudd said before talking to his son. "You get too old to be a revolutionary." Although Rudd's father made no pre-

tense of speaking for his son, newspapers circulated the quote nationally as an explanation. "We have come to take it for granted," wrote the *New York Post*'s Murray Kempton in perhaps the only sensible article on Rudd, "that the end of every novel about the '60s is an apology to the '70s." Jacob Rudd's remark gave the newspapers the text they desired. Only one paper, *Newsday*, reported Jacob Rudd's additional comment that, "There are so many people wandering about in high places and low places who should be in jail more than [Mark]."

The interpretations presented by the press of Rudd's reappearance were less confusing than the news reports. Kempton predicted the majority view correctly. In 1968, the press had painted Rudd as a sinister specter; now, it drew him as an insignificant wisp. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* didn't even deign to announce his surrender to its readers. A columnist for the *Chicago Tribune* settled for suggesting that Rudd's importance was as weightless and invisible as the wind.

In the *Daily News*, Breslin executed a similar sleight of hand. "Loose change," he called Rudd, using the title of Sara Davidson's disingenuous account of her experiences in the '60s. What had Rudd and his cohorts achieved, Breslin asked. "Certainly nothing changed for the blacks at the bottom of the system," he answered himself with his usual self-satisfaction. Old pols, such as Tip O'Neill, were the real movers and doers, Breslin argued—the unemployed kids of black *Daily News* readers will be glad to know that Congress changes things for blacks at the bottom of the system—while Rudd and his companions only succeeded in prolonging the Vietnam war. His alchemical argument transformed Rudd into the government and Breslin's celebrated pols into the protesters in the street.

It was the Op-Ed page of the

Times, however, that announced Rudd's insignificance most strongly. Kirkpatrick Sale sounded the horn in an ill-guided attempt to defend the left. Rudd's surrender couldn't be viewed as a defeat of the left, Sale argued, because Rudd had always been a "flawed example of the radical movement." Sale trotted out the charges against Rudd with which the *Times* pilloried him back in 1968: that while Rudd had some importance as a media creation, he was disliked by SDS members, unread, ignorant of left theory, and a coward.

Frankly, I doubt that either Sale or the *Times* would have considered Rudd a sparkling example of the radical movement even had he been universally admired, a fount of radical philosophy, and brave as Samson. Giving them the benefit of the doubt, I cast my dissenting vote: during the strike, the many members of SDS never voted him out of office; he regularly displayed an admirable courage, both physically and intellectually; and he often saw issues with greater clarity than most of his colleagues, myself included.

What's his secret, reporters asked me during the strike. I marvelled at their lack of imagination. A month before the demonstrations at Columbia, thousands had died during the Tet offensive, Martin Luther King had been assassinated, and black ghetto rebellions had threatened many cities. Was it remarkable that a young person felt passionately about these events or conceived the possibility of affecting them?

Why is he so special, they ask now. I marvel at their forgetfulness. He was a genuine political leader. Combined with peculiar circumstance, his temperament and mind made him the guiding genius of one historical moment. It was not just, then or now, to judge him the sum of either its failure or success, though one would never know it from the press. ■

A MORE HIGHLY CLASSIFIED CLASSIFIED

If you're in communications and you want to speak to someone like yourself about a job, a book, or whatever, you might be interested in knowing that nearly half of our readers are in the communications field. With another 22 per cent in professional fields. And, 13 per cent in education.

A word in MORE's Classified is like a word to the wise.

A word is \$.50 per. With a \$12.50 minimum. Job offer rates are \$.20 per word. With a \$10.00 minimum.

And there's even a way to get MORE for less. Just pay for two insertions and you get a third free.

Check or money order must accompany copy and be received prior to closing date (the first day of month preceding publication date). Ads received past deadline will run in next issue. All classified accepted at discretion of the publisher.

MORE CLASSIFIED
40 W. 57th, New York, N.Y. 10019

Here is my ad. I enclose \$_____ for _____ words. Please run my ad during the following months: _____

Classification: ☐ Jobs Offered ☐ Books/Publications
☐ Jobs Wanted ☐ Services Offered ☐ Miscellaneous

COPY: _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

TELEPHONE _____ SIGNATURE _____

Post office box number and telephone number count as two words each; abbreviations and zip codes as one word each. We will also assign a MORE box number for an additional \$1.00.

CLASSIFIEDS

PUBLICATIONS

DISCOVER NEW WRITING MARKETS. Profit from our exclusive assignment listings. Trial 6 issues, \$5. "Freelancer's Newsletter," 15M Wynkoop (P.O. Box 128), Rhinebeck, N.Y. 12572. (088)

READ FRENCH, GERMAN, ITALIAN OR SPANISH—within weeks without memorizing anything. Revolutionary new Rundle System. Send \$19.95, specify language, or write for free London Daily Telegraph feature article. Template Publishers, Box 5152-X, Springfield, IL 62705. (28)

RESUME SERVICES: Are you looking for a reporting job on a newspaper? A well-written resume is your first step. Send \$3.50 (check or money order) for detailed instructions on how to write your resume based on a recent study of the hiring practices of news executives. De George Enterprises, Building A-5, Casa Grande Dr., Liverpool, N.Y. 13088. (127)

JOBS OFFERED

DISTRIBUTOR WANTED—Sell natural, organic products of the highest quality obtainable. Unlimited earning potential for those with the vision and valor to be their own boss, distribute and sponsor others and far exceed their present salary. A. Knappe, 87-40 110 St., Richmond Hill, NY 11418, (212) 849-3024. (127)

FREELANCERS NEEDED: Do you believe you are an excellent writer and are you bored with covering the local news scene? **STUDENT UNLIMITED** magazine offers you a chance to spread your work and name in a nine state area of the midwest. Write to **STUDENT UNLIMITED**, Suite 1100, Tiger Towers, Columbia, MO (127)

MISCELLANEOUS

FOR SALE—DUE TO POOR HEALTH: Small monthly magazine published in Western Montana featuring historical and adventure stories as well as human interest. Terms and price negotiable. If interested, write Book Co., P.O. Box 297, Victor, MT 59875. (127)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please attach
Mailing label here

Please allow 6 weeks for processing

Please print clearly

Old Address

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

New Address

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

All subscription and change of address information should be addressed to: MORE Magazine Subscription Service, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735.

Programming Analyst/Writer

We are a small growing firm specializing in computer system documentation and technical writing. We need two more people: a junior, salary to \$15,000, an intermediate, salary to \$20,000. We require knowledge of at least two programming languages and willingness to learn more. A degree in computer science or journalism is preferred. Resumes only.

SYSDOC Incorporated

60 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

THE ONLY COVER-UP "MORE" WILL EVER BE INVOLVED IN.



You can get in our navy and white T-shirt for \$4.95. Just send check or money order (no cash please) with this coupon. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Postage, handling and tax are included.

To: MORE T-Shirt
40 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Please send me _____ shirts (s) at \$4.95 each, tax included.

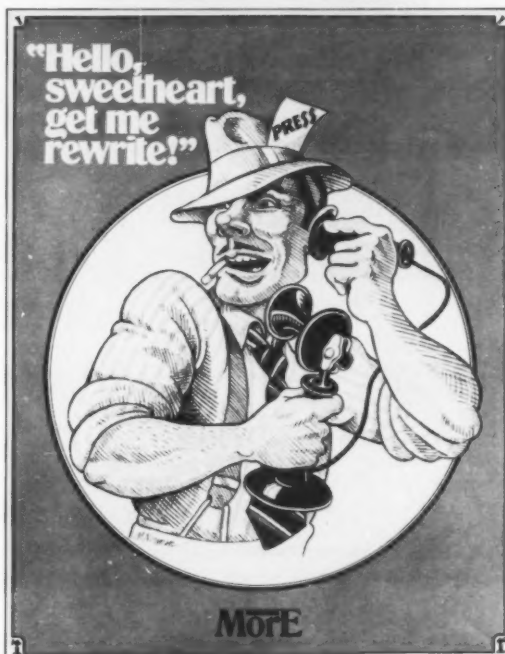
☐ Boy's Lg. 32-34 ☐ Sm. 34-36 ☐ Med. 38-40
☐ Lg. 42-44 ☐ X-Lg. 46-48

NAME _____ Please Print

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

A WANTED POSTER



Now, you can have our poster on some prominent wall in your life.

Just fill in the coupon and send us a check or money order for \$2.95 and we'll send you this 2-color 20" x 26" poster.

More

To: MORE Poster
40 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Please send me _____ poster (s) at \$2.95 each, postage, handling, tax included.

NAME _____ Please Print

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

ROSEBUD

LOSERS WERE HIS BEAT

Naughton Mixed Pranks With Flawless Reporting

He'd rather be in Philadelphia.

BY JULES WITCOVER

Every time an outstanding reporter becomes an editor, I think of two things: 1) that he's out of his mind, and 2) that the editors who offered him the inside job are out of theirs, because outstanding reporters are not all that easy to come by. When I learned, to my professional and personal chagrin, that Jim Naughton of *The New York Times* Washington bureau was moving to Philadelphia to become the *Inquirer's* national editor under old *Times* man Gene Roberts, those same two thoughts struck me.

In his eight years in the D.C. bureau (after seven at the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*), Naughton built a deserved reputation as perhaps the most level-headed, thorough, and accurate reporter in a bureau that puts a particularly high premium on those traits.

Through a string of difficult assignments—from being Spiro Agnew's shadow in 1970 and 1971, to covering the Presidential campaigns of Senators Edmund Muskie and George McGovern in 1972, and finally Gerald Ford's in 1976—Naughton provided the *Times's* readers and news-service clients with coverage unfailingly marked by its incisiveness, attention to

detail (he became one of the great pool writers of our time), and, always, accuracy.

Naughton's lengthy recounting of the events that led to, and were climaxed by, the 1973 resignation of Agnew was perhaps the best single example of Naughton's ability to head a team of reporters, and to gather and present lucidly a mass of detail under time pressure. The article appeared less than two weeks after Agnew's resignation; when Richard M. Cohen and I researched our book on Agnew that was published in 1974, we found every fact in the Naughton piece to be on the mark.

"My assignment at the *Times*," Naughton told me recently, "was to cover losers." It was true; and Naughton's coverage of the big political loser of this era—Richard Nixon—through the Senate Watergate hearings and the impeachment process in the House was probably the high-water mark of his career: it was balanced and solid, with a good share of exclusives. After that, though, Naughton began to realize he wasn't enjoying reporting as much as he had. He felt he'd had in the Watergate and impeachment hearings "the best story I'll ever cover," and he was ready to move on.

"I always had the romantic notion that I wanted to be the editor of a paper someday," he told me, and opportunities were beginning to come his

way. *The Chicago Tribune* and the Cox newspapers took a run at him as chief of their Washington bureaus, as did the *Miami News*, looking for an editor of its editorial page. So when Roberts made his offer, Naughton was receptive.

The *Times*, when it learned of Naughton's desire to go inside, gave him a stint running the desk in the Washington bureau last summer; and, while the paper made no immediate offer, he was told there was no reason he could not go to New York sometime as an editor. But Naughton told me he didn't want to go through what it would take to become the editor of the *Times*, so he took Roberts's offer as a better opportunity to become the editor of some newspaper sometime.

What so appalled me when I heard the news was not that the *Times* was losing one of its best reporters, but that the Washington press corps was losing its premier prankster. There is the now-famous story of his spiriting a sheep into the Peoria hotel room of Texas A&M graduate Tom DeFrank of *Newsweek*, with President Ford providing the kicker by greeting DeFrank the next morning and observing, "I understand you had company last night."

And then there is the equally famous story of the San Diego chicken head, a promotional prop worn by an employee of local radio station KGB. The KGB chicken had greeted Ford at a rally and, afterward, Naughton arranged to buy it. At a later press conference, he appeared in it and broke Ford up.

After the campaign, DeFrank got even for the sheep caper by arranging with Dick Cheney, Ford's chief of staff, to trick Naughton into going all the way to Camp David for an exclusive interview with the President who, of course, remained in Washington. But Naughton got his revenge. After Ford left office, Cheney was given a farewell party. Who popped out of an ersatz cake covered with real

chocolate icing, prepared with care by Naughton, but the KGB chicken head, worn by—who else?

The loss of this talent, clearly, is a severe blow to the Washington press corps.

So, whether Gene Roberts realizes it or not, he is getting not only a national editor but also a diabolical mastermind determined to develop a whole stable of pranks-playing Naughtons to carry on his tradition. If the deal at the same time includes development of a stable of straight-arrow reporting Naughtons, the *Inquirer* will have made one of its smarter moves since Roberts himself was brought aboard.

Naughton is an outstanding reporter as well as a delightful traveling companion because his playful antics and his zest for the practical joke never spill over onto his professional side. Surprisingly, there is little of the flashiness in his copy for the *Times* that one might expect from a man given to the stunts in which he indulges.

There is, instead, a solidness, a consistency of high performance, and, above all, an attention to detail and accuracy that have made him one of the recognized dependables in the Washington reporting trade. Because of that, the folks in New York would probably give him their highest accolade, "A *Times* man." Which is quite a thing to say about a guy who wears leisure suits and plays leprechaun on the side.

As a parting shot, on his last day in the *Times* Washington bureau, Naughton anonymously budgeted a story for New York as follows: "URANUS (Lyons)—Scientists discover startling new details about distant planet." There ensued much wire traffic between New York and Washington on the discovery, including a request from Naughton for a map of the planet. Only at four p.m. did he let the home office in on his final caper as a *Times* man: "Please scratch URANUS. Naughton." ■

Jules Witcover writes a column on national politics with Jack W. Germond at *The Washington Star*, syndicated by the *Chicago Tribune-New York News syndicate*.

A Visit from St. Censorless

T

*'was the night before Christmas,
And all through the city
Not a publisher published
A dirge or a ditty.*

*The presses were silent, as silent as night,
For the ink had been spilled in the heat of a fight.
The jailhouse was loaded with writers and eds
Whose writing and ed-ing had displeased the feds.
Now the judges and jurists, all safe in their beds,
Had delusions of "purity" snug in their heads.
They had squelched all dissent and all "flagrant bad taste"
Till the edges of Truth had been seared and laid waste.
Mere pabulum prevailed and dullness was rife
For never such drivel you've heard in your life.
Pages of newspapers shriveled and shrank
And all that remained smelled—God, how it stank!
The news was like nothing, like nothing at all,
But was slanted, distorted to suit City Hall.
Now Bellamy Bluenose, the D.A. of note,
Had a special incentive, an eye on the vote.
"Our Hero" had settled, all cozy and warm,
In the comfort of Christmastide, so true to form.
He dozed and he nodded till he was quite out,
When a sequence occurred that gave him a clout.
There in his room was heard such a clatter
He harked and he peered to determine the matter.
"Bellamy Bluenose!" a booming voice beckoned.
("I guess I am being subpoenaed," he reckoned.)
"Who do you think you are?" the voice spoke,*

*"To throttle the minds and the feelings of folk?
Have you ever envisioned—in truth or in fables—
The people of Cityville turning the tables?
People with noses—the black, brown and white—
May turn on the blue as 'distasteful'—a 'fright.'
Then where would you be, all undefended,
With no one to help you, alone and upended?
Your schnozzle is blue; quite strange, but let's face it,
No one aspires to malign and debase it.
They leave it alone as a part of your right,
So how 'bout the men in the brig this cold night?"
The light in the window was all bright and garish
As Bellamy woke; t'was a dream all nightmarish.
A cold day was dawning, and X marked the place
Where Truth had been hobbled and slapped in the face.
He dressed in a flash as bad vibes alarmed him,
On this morn of all morns hardly anything charmed him,
Till he took to the streets with a cause and a plan,
A guy fully scared by the ghost of The Man.
He imagined himself a pariah of sorts
Arrested and handcuffed and hauled into courts—
All for some different manner he chose,
All for the want of an "average nose."
So filling the air with a change of intention,
He wakened the Cityville Chief of Detention.
"Unfair!" he recanted aloud. "Unlock 'em!
I see we were wrong to confine and cell-block 'em."
And they heard him exclaim as he entered the jail,
"Put the X back in Xmas and let Truth prevail!"*

Larry Flynt Publications

40 West Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215 • (614) 464-2070

Philip Morris Incorporated

**Come to where the flavor is.
Come to Marlboro Country.**

17 mg. "tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Aug. '77

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.



**Marlboro Red or Longhorn 100's—
you get a lot to like.**

